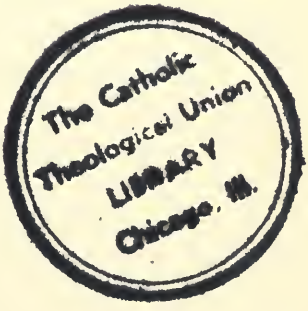
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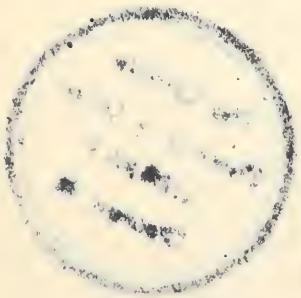

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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY 1950

VOLUME 32 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 21 NUMBER 1

American Metropolitan Press Reaction to the Paris Commune of 1871

In the wake of the Industrial Revolution, the elements of applied socialism began to form through the efforts of the workers to secure improved economic status. Attempts had been made to modify the traditional capitalistic system as early as the French Revolution of 1789. These efforts were, however, abortive, and further advances were not attempted until after the wave of reaction had subsided following the Congress of Vienna. Then new experiments of the Utopian variety appeared under the leadership of Fourier. Later during the reign of Louis Philippe, socialistic agitation for a more realistic program became more pronounced under the stimulus of Blanc and Proudhon. This phase of the movement, however, ended with the suppression of the workers by General Cavaignac during the "Terrible June Days."

Nor were other labor sponsored projects again to develop in France for over a decade. Socialist leaders were sent into exile, and they returned only after a more liberal policy of the French government had been adopted in the latter years of Napoleon III's reign. Yet, at this time the radicals lived in the shadow of the law, waiting for an opportunity to initiate their program. Their opportunity came when Prussia defeated France in 1870-1871.

The insurrection, which had been developing since the proclamation of the Third Republic, broke out in violent fury on March 18, 1871, with the establishment of the Paris Commune. With the assistance of the International, a government supported by the National Guard was established. Its leaders supported by the Parisian workers announced their program calling for a federation of com-

munes, abrogation of rents, confiscation of property, reorganization of credit, the establishment of workshops, and the guarantee of rights, freedom and security for all. Pursuing the objectives through a policy of destructive and violent action, the Commune met with mounting opposition. Faced with a desperate military situation from the beginning, the socialist forces were gradually worn down by the French regulars. By May 28, 1871, the last of the Commune forces were defeated. During its two and one-half months of existence, the unorthodox and violent experiment was watched by the amazed and apprehensive Western World. In the United States comments on and interpretations of the Commune appeared on the editorial pages of the daily metropolitan newspapers and periodicals. Some of the observations analyzed the program of the Commune, while others made predictions about the future of socialism. It is the purpose of this paper to present an analysis of American press opinion as expressed during the period of the Commune.

At the outbreak of the revolt which led to the formation of the Commune, the press failed to exhibit a clear grasp of the significance of the movement.[1] A confused reaction was expressed by most of the newspapers. In general the movement was interpreted as a revolution rather than a civil disturbance. The New York *Times* commented: "Something like a revolution has been commenced."[2] Nor did the continual flow of dispatches clarify the issues because on the following day the analysis was: "The most natural question to put with reference to the popular outbreak in Paris is: 'What is it all about'?"[3] And a similar view was expressed in San Francisco. "Paris is under the entire mastery of the insurgents. What they propose to do does not fully appear."[4] In the early analysis of the disturbance, it was the Chicago *Tribune* that provided the most nearly correct interpretation of the development.

> The people of both hemispheres were startled, yesterday, by the intelligence that the city of Paris was in the hands of a mob . . . The worst scenes of the Revolution of '89 came into the mind of every reader, and it is not too much to say that the recital sent a shudder through all Christendom![5]

By the following day, the press saw the movement as a revolution led by an aggressive minority.

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[1] Cincinnati *Commercial*, March 22, 1871, 4. (These last numbers refer to pages of the main edition.)
[2] New York *Times*, March 20, 1871, 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, March 21, 1871, 4.
[4] San Francisco *Daily Morning Bulletin*, March 22, 1871, 2.
[5] Chicago *Tribune*, March 22, 1871, 2.

The present insurrection in Paris bears a very close resemblance to that of 1848—the country being now, as then, in a state of apparently healthy transition from decaying despotism to a more liberal government, and the disturbances coming now, as then, from a mob of malcontents who are constitutionally irreconcilable with any condition of things short of the guillotine.[6]

A similar view was taken by the Philadelphia *Ledger*:

The mob . . . reigned supreme in Paris. That grand city, so recently inhabited by nearly two million of people, and even now containing more than three hundred and fifty thousand grown men, is dominated by a band of destructives which does not embrace or represent one-fifth of its male population.[7]

Within a few days as the socialist character of the Commune was recognized, the press began to reflect not confusion but suspicion and dismay. This attitude was expressed by the New York *Herald*: "Who the leaders are has not yet been made known. Whether Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Ledru Rollin, Rochefort and other Reds have placed themselves at the head of this movement to uproot society and 'organize hell' in France our dispatches do not report."[8] The *Times* was more definite in its assertions about socialism. "One of the terrors which lie back of the present revolution in Paris, both to France and Europe, is the fear that it is a socialistic outbreak, a stroke at property itself."[9] A San Francisco editor was in agreement that socialism was behind the revolution. "The Montmartre insurgents, composed of some of the vilest elements of Paris, led by the most violent of Reds, have openly defied the government . . ."[10] After the Commune requisitioned property to secure funds, the New York *Herald* charged that the leaders believed that property is theft and that all profits and property should be controlled by the state.[11] The movement was, furthermore, interpreted as a "revolution of pillage."[12] Yet, the *Times* was not positive about the development because it stated that the socialist election victory in Paris "does not necessarily involve a practical revival of the tenents of St. Simon and Fourier—the new social organization and reapportionment of property."[13] An even less apprehensive view was taken by the Spring-

6 *Ibid.*, March 23, 1871, 2.
7 Philadelphia *Ledger*, April 7, 1871, 2.
8 New York *Herald*, March 20, 1871, 6.
9 New York *Times*, March 24, 1871, 4.
10 San Francisco *Morning Bulletin*, March 21, 1871, 2.
11 New York *Herald*, March 22, 1871, 6.
12 *Ibid.*, March 20, 1871, 6.
13 New York *Times*, March 28, 1871, 4.

field *Republican,* which analyzed the revolution as a movement supported by the Parisian debtors.

> As the debtor class in Paris is enormous in number and has as its leaders men unscrupulous and reckless, they have had their way over the more moderate citizens. The revolution seems now firmly established in the city; it has the government organized and supported by thousands of poor men, in arms against their creditors . . .[14]

When in April the Commune began its action of violence and persecution, the American press became more emotional and hostile. As the New York *Tribune* had early referred to the rebel Parisians as Communists, it now interpreted the arrest of the Archbishop of Paris as an omen of fearful events. "What other less prominent victims the enraged populace have claimed in the name of Liberty and the Rights of Man, the telegraph does not tell us; but there is great reason to fear that revelations of many horrors are yet to come."[15] But, when the Commune began its socialistic program in earnest the press attacks were more violent. "The right of national property has been abrogated; debt has been abolished; landlords have been proscribed as enemies of the state, and 200,000 citizens have been compelled to flee for no other offense than being richer than their neighbors."[16] The Washington *Evening Star* took a broader view and interpreted the tendency as an attempt to initiate the ideas of the International which would alter the relation between capital and labor. Its editor wrote: "The 'Commune' movement seems intended to be a general one, all over Europe."[17] The Philadelphia *Ledger,* however, was more skeptical. " 'Property is robbery' with them [Communists] . . . "[18]

When the Cooperative Working Societies were organized, the general prediction was for further restrictions on property and liberty. Said the *Times*:

> . . . Every citizen must belong or lose his civil rights. Persons refusing to join these associations will find "all the establishments containing pro-

[14] Springfield *Republican,* Springfield, Massachusetts, April 1, 1871, 4.
[15] New York *Tribune,* April 6, 1871, 4. Editor's Note. The fears of horrors yet to come were realized during April and May. During the last rive days of the Commune, before the government troops took control of Paris, the Archbishop of Paris, Monsigneur Georges Darboy, and four other churchmen were shot without trial in jail. The following day, May 25, the whole staff of the College of Arcueil, including five Dominican priests and eight lay instructors were marched into the street and shot. Next day a mob of men, women and children invaded the prison grounds of fifty others, among them eleven Catholic ecclesiastics, and hacked them to death.
[16] *Ibid.,* April 11, 1871, 4.
[17] Washington *Evening Star,* Washington, D. C., April 15, 1871, 2.
[18] Philadelphia *Ledger,* April 21, 1871, 2.

visions destined for members of the commonwealth" closed to them as well as "all public houses, dining rooms, railroads, telegraphs and Post-Offices." In fact the unhappy opponent of socialism and "liberty" in this form would discover that his only freedom was to die.[19]

The language of the *Herald* was more picturesque in its description. "In a word, France under the Commune would be a great federation of Fourierites phalanxes, of free love, of free labor, free enjoyment, and so on, and everything for everybody and nothing to do but to enjoy in everything, the pleasures of perfect equality and the fat of the land."[20] *Every Saturday* saw France under the Commune as a gigantic trade union, which the individual would be obliged to join or starve. It was further believed that all freedom of thought and action would be supressed and the world would drift back into medieval conditions.[21]

With the suppression of the insurrection the press generally expressed relief and exhibited horror at the extermination. An example of this point of view was the opinion expressed by the San Francisco *Morning Bulletin* which said:

> News that the Paris insurrection is finally supressed, and that the authority of the National government is supreme in the Capitol . . . will be hailed with a sigh of relief. The short career of the Communists has been dreadful for its proscription and savagery. It can be compared with nothing but the worst events of the first revolution . . .[22]

In agreement the *Nation* almost exhausted its vocabulary to express its horror of the violence of the Commune and its suppression. "It would be difficult to produce from history an expression of selfishness narrower or more material, more short-sighted and more devilish in its intensity, than the organization which has just perished in the flames of Paris . . ."[23] But the more profound *Times* interpreted the dying movement as a herald of coming events.

> . . . The struggle was a kind of picket skirmish, or outlying battle between the vanguards of the two great armies of labor and capital. Its terrible significance even before a house was fired or a single desperate deed done by the Communists, was, to our mind, that it represented the deep explosive forces which underlie all modern society . . .[24]

The same fundamentals were recognized by the *Revolution* which

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19 New York *Times*, April 27, 1871, 4.
20 New York *Herald*, May 25, 1871, 6.
21 *Every Saturday*, Boston, Massachusetts, V. 10, May 13, 1871, 450.
22 San Francisco *Morning Bulletin*, May 30, 1871, 2.
23 *Nation*, V. 12, June 1, 1871, 379.
24 New York *Times*, June 25, 1871, 4.

tried to justify the principles for which the Commune fought in spite of the violence exhibited by its defenders.

> Their movement originated in the brain of the down-trodden masses, who, smitten with the idea of liberty, but without competent leaders or an effective organization, struggled for the right of self government. In so much as the mad attempt of these men and women of Paris who have so fearfully paid the forfeit of their crimes, aimed at freedom for themselves, education for their children, better homes for the masses . . . history will vindicate them in the face even of acts of vandalism committed in the last hour of the Commune's life.[25]

The recognition of growing friction between capital and labor in America coupled with the startling vitality of the Commune motivated the press to give the socialist movement serious consideration as a threat to the traditional society and economy.[26] At the time of the suppression of the Commune, the editorial pages expressed the opinion that the atrocities would retard the progress of socialism for the moment.

> The Paris Commune is dead, but its spirit survives. That the Commune was a local outbreak is an extremely cherished misconception. Had it triumphed in France, the Paris insurrection would have been widely if not generally imitated.[27]

Within a few days, however, the *Tribune* was more definite about its predictions:

> The social questions which the Commune sought to raise have been pressing for settlement for years past. They never had so good a chance for fair consideration as within the past twelvemonth. It is probable that the Commune has postponed them for half a century.[28]

With this assertion the *Times* could agree.

> Now, such horrors and crimes as these put back the cause the Parisian laborers had at heart, at least half a century. The very name of "working men's organizations", "associations" and "unions" will smell in the nostrils of Europe for generations.[29]

But, the press predicted at the same time that the French suppression of the revolutionaries would not destroy socialism.[30] The New York *Tribune* observed that the International, which it associat-

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25 *Revolution*, New York, June 29, 1871, 9.
26 *Nation*, V. 12, May 18, 1871, 352–353.
27 New York *Tribune*, June 22, 1871, 4.
28 *Ibid.*, May 29, 1871, 4.
29 New York *Times*, May 31, 1871, 4.
30 *Nation*, V. 12, June 1, 1871, 375.

ed with the Commune, had been weakened but not dissolved by the struggle.[31] The *Nation,* however, pointed out that socialistic ideas, because they had spread rapidly since 1848, would continue to spread over the world, thus threatening the foundations of society.[32] The analysis of the *Times* was more penetrating and specific.

> That the Commune cannot be stamped out by any amount of sweeping severity, has been sufficiently proved by the record of its eight day's death struggle. In giving it the slightest claim to martyrdom, the Versailles government has lent a vitality of which its own crimes had effectually deprived it . . . The Commune had a strong hold upon the masses, or it would have been more easily subdued. Leaders and followers alike were terribly, fantastically in earnest, or they never could have carried to excesses so wild as those which have conferred on them a splendid infamy. Despite the present fearful chastisement, Belleville and Montmartre will be cowed, not tamed.[33]

In the Middle West the attitude was more confident and nonchalant. The Cincinnati *Commercial* emphasized that the socialist plan for a "Universal Republic in Europe" should be relegated momentarily to the same status as the blasted dreams of the earlier fanatics.[34]

Some attempts were made by the press to raise the specter of socialism in the United States. The *Nation* believed it saw in the program of the Commune elements similar to the proposals advanced by the American radical reformers, and it predicted in successive weeks that the achievements of the Communists would

> undoubtedly help to stimulate the 'labor reform' movement for the present in other countries . . .[35] No intelligent observer doubts that this ideal is gaining among the working-classes all over the world . . . Few but the wilfully blind now fail to understand the exact nature of the danger with which we are threatened; and to those who imagine that America is going to escape the convulsion, we recommend a careful study of the mining industry of Pennsylvania during the last ten years.[36]

Every Saturday saw labor reformers advocating cooperation with the "Reds" to reconstruct a society more desirable to the workers, and it asserted that several International Societies had expressed overt sympathy for the distressed Commune.[37] The New York editors in-

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31 New York *Tribune,* June 6, 1871, 4.
32 *Nation,* V. 12, June 1, 1871, 376.
33 New York *Times,* May 28, 1871, 4.
34 Cincinnati *Commercial,* May 30, 1871, 4.
35 *Nation,* V. 12, May 18, 1871, 333–334.
36 *Ibid.,* May 25, 1871, 352–353.
37 *Every Saturday,* V. 10, May 20, 1871, 459.

terpreted the struggle between capital and labor in America as analogous to the French situation. The *Herald* pointed out that although the United States had an abundance of cheap land and paid reasonably high wages, a struggle was developing between capital and labor that was similar to the conflict that produced the Commune.[38] The *Nation* emphasized that this struggle would become serious in the future. "Anybody who considers seriously what is meant by the conflict between labor and capital of which we are only just witnessing the beginning . . . must acknowledge that the next generation will have a thorny path to travel."[39] It saw a conflict of two fundamental viewpoints toward society. On the one hand were the liberals who had developed a society in which the individual was supreme, while on the other hand were the socialists trying to develop a society which would subordinate the individual to society. Unless measures were taken to reconcile these opposing objectives, serious dangers threatened social solidarity. The danger of conflict was intensified in 1871 because of the rapid growth of the capitalistic class at the expense of the workers.[40] If the socialist movement were permitted to develop, the *Herald* believed Americans would be forced to fight to save their "nation and individual lives."[41] It predicted that the labor movement under socialistic influence would be converted into an anti-right-to property association. It saw political meetings dominated by "roughs."[42] But the *Times* was the most comprehensive analyst and the most dismal prognosticator of all. The editor believed that he saw conditions in New York which would produce developments not unlike those in Paris.

> Now, we have in New York precisely similar elements. We have communist leaders and 'philosophers' and reformers. We have a seething, ignorant, passionate, half-criminal class, who possess no property and can get none. We have an army of ignorant, emotional, prejudiced, and uncontrolled day-laborers who toil year after year and seldom accumulate property or see any fruits of their labors. In the darkened minds of all these 'sons of toil' there move vague desires for something better, passionate feelings of discontent that one class has all the blessings of life, and they the curses. The more intelligent have heard of 'socialism' of equal wages to all; of division of property and luxuries. Others belong to trades' unions, and have sworn bitter war against capital. All hate and envy the rich. . . . Let some such opportunity occur as was present in Paris . . .; let this mighty

38 New York *Herald*, May 29, 1871, 6.
39 *Nation*, V. 12, April 20, 1871, 271.
40 *Ibid.*, V. 12, June 1, 1871, 375.
41 New York *Herald*, May 28, 1871, 8.
42 *Ibid.*, June 4, 1871, 7.

throng hear that there was a chance to grasp the luxuries of wealth, or to divide the property of the rich, or to escape labor and suffering for a time, and live on the superfluities for a time and we should see a sudden storm of communistic revolutions even in New York such as would astonish all who do not know these classes.[43]

A Washington editor, while commenting on labor troubles in his city, denounced a like attitude among labor leaders.

If the laborers who are now seeking an increase of pay do not wish to lose all hold upon public sympathy, they will at once repudiate the leadership of the brutal, ignorant demagogues of the Marcellus West stripe. The most bloodthirsty and incendiary utterances of the Paris Commune did not much exceed in atrocity those howled out at the meeting last night by this fellow West and one or two of his colleagues.[44]

The paper did not believe, however, that this temper existed among the working class as a whole. Commenting on the slow growth of the International, the editor wrote: "The fact that not more than 20,000 members[45] have been gained to the society in the country in five years shows that its views and purposes do not gain favor with our practical self governed people."[46] But the Springfield *Republican* was even more confident about the improbability of the Commune principles gaining ground in the United States. It said that the socialistic principles of the International and of the Commune " . . . are as foreign to the matter under consideration as the dead and buried pro-slavery administrations that Fernando Wood laments."[47]

Thus in its analysis of the Commune insurrection the American press developed a fairly accurate grasp of the fundamentals involved in the struggle after a reasonably complete study had been made of the movement. Although deploring the violence and the bloodshed, it recognized the unequal rights and inadequate share of the income from the economy enjoyed by the working class, and in some cases it sympathized with the efforts of the workers to secure economic status. The press believed that a possibility existed of further efforts to secure status by the workers, but it felt that the suppression of the Commune would retard the movement for possibly half a century. While considering the possibility of fur-

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43 *Times*, June 18, 1871, 4.
44 Washington *Evening Star*, June 6, 1871, 2.
45 The society claimed 2,000,000 members. American *Annual Cyclopedia and Register*, New York, 1872, V. 11 (1871), 414.
46 Washington *Evening Star*, June 28, 1871, 2.
47 Springfield *Republican*, December 21, 1871, 4.

ther socialistic movements, the editors, taking stock of American conditions, expressed the belief that similar developments under like circumstances might transpire in America. In an attempt to circumvent violence, suggestions of means were made to neutralize socialistic ideas. Fines and imprisonment were considered inadequate methods of dealing with the problem.[48] Religion and freedom seemed the most reliable weapons which would be depended upon to diminish the possibility of radical changes in society. The *Herald* proposed the diffusion of religion "which restrains vice, elevates the character of men and teaches us to seek the good of others."[49] It furthermore believed that freedom of the press would play a significant role in combating socialism. "Let the press frown upon all these women's rights, men's rights, free love communistic conventicles and movements and they will be short lived indeed."[50] The *Nation* suggested introducing measures which would produce greater harmony among the classes with regard to the distribution of wealth.[51] A reflection of this suggestion as well as other editorial comments can be seen in the Congressional debates dealing with the relation of capital and labor.[52]

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[48] New York *Herald*, May 28, 1871, 8.
[49] *Ibid.*, May 29, 1871, 6.
[50] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1871, 8.
[51] *Nation*, V. 12, June 1, 1871, 375.
[52] *Congressional Globe*, 42d Congress, 2d Session, 102, 104, 200, 253, 254, 258, 570, 590, 1090, 3838.

Vasco de Quiroga: Oidor made Bishop

This paper is a study in the problem of Church and State relations in early New Spain. A student of the colonial period of Latin America soon discovers that he must understand an institution that is basic to that civilization, the *patronato real.* He must know it both in theory and practice because the system ran its fibers throughout the public and private relations between the home country and the most distant provinces of the Spanish empire. It fixed an imperial system and fostered an imperial loyalty over the whole of colonial society. It provided sanction for a vast sector of royal decree: in land title and management, taxation, frontier expansion, general and higher education, appointment in the vast bureaucracy, and finally the broad fields of economic and political arrangement between governor and governed. And the theory and practice of patronage principles continue today in the southern republics in various modified forms.[1]

The main lines of the operation of the *patronato* are fairly well understood, and there will be no effort made here to describe it in detail. Quite otherwise is the awareness of the process by which the system evolved in the New World at the very time when pope and sovereign were laying its juridicial foundations in the Old. Here the scholar finds a largely unworked mine. He finds that the attack on the general field is no longer satisfying and that detailed studies should be undertaken.

In the following account of the transition of Vasco de Quiroga from the status of a lay member of the Second Audiencia of New Spain to that of Bishop of Michoacán, one finds a clear-cut picture of that evolution whose result was the establishment of a virtual headship of the Church in the Escorial.

Don Vasco de Quiroga (1470-1565) is a key man in Mexican colonial history for many reasons. As a lawyer and theologian he worked out the moral grounds for the relations between the Spaniards and the Indians at about the same time that Las Casas and

[1] For the problem of the transfer of patronal rights at the time of Mexican independence, see W. Eugene Shiels, "Francisco Pablo Vásquez and the Independence of Mexico," MID AMERICA, XXX (July, 1948), 177–186.

Vitoria were occupied with the same problem.[2] Influenced strongly by the *Utopia* of Thomas More, a copy of which came to him through Juan de Zumárraga, Archbishop of Mexico, Quiroga proposed to the king that the Spaniards found an Indian commonwealth in their overseas possessions, not modelled on Spanish or European lines, but following the ideals of Christian humanism which he found in More.[3]

His plea was successful to the degree that he was permitted to establish Indian communities or hospitals which, by their success, have caused his memory to endure to this day among the natives of Michoacán. Foremost among the schools which he founded was the Colegio de San Nicolás de Michoacán, which in 1940 celebrated its fourth centennial of existence. After thirty-five years of amazing activity, Qurioga died while on a mule-back visitation of his diocese in the twenty-eighth year of his episcopal rule, at the age of ninety-five.[4]

The literature of Quiroga's life has been enriched during the last decade by the publications of Silvio Zavala, Aguayo Spencer, Mariano Cuevas, and Sergio Méndez Arceo, all of Mexico, who made considerable additions to the older work of Moreno and Nicolás León.[5] However, there is still much to be done. There is only the sketchiest knowledge, for instance, about Quiroga's early life before

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[2] Quiroga's important treatise on Indian rights, the "Información en derecho del Licenciado Quiroga sobre algunas provisiones del real consejo de Indias," is dated July 24, 1535. It is reprinted in Rafael Aguayo Spencer, *Don Vasco de Quiroga, documentos,* Mexico, 1940, 291–398. In a recent work, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice In the Conquest of America,* Philadelphia, 1949, 72, Lewis Hanke shows that Las Casas wrote his first polemical treatise about 1537. Vitoria delivered his first lecture on the rights of the Indians in 1532. Cf. James Brown Scott, *The Spanish Origins of International Law,* Washington, D. C., 1928, 22.

[3] Cf. Silvio A. Zavala, *Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga,* Mexico, 1941, and by the same author, *La Utopia de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España,* Mexico, 1937. Also, Paul S. Lietz, "Don Vasco de Quiroga and the Second Audiencia of New Spain," doctoral dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, 1940.

[4] The most satisfactory life of Quiroga is that of Nicolás León, *El ilmo. señor don Vasco de Quiroga,* Michoacán, 1903. The earlier life by Juan José Moreno has been republished with valuable notes by Aguayo Spencer in *Quiroga, documentos,* 1–242. A short treatment of his life is given in Paul S. Lietz, "Vasco de Quiroga, Sociologist of New Spain," Mid America, XVIII (October, 1936), 247–259.

[5] Cuevas has located a number of important documents on Quiroga, one of which, the papers of Quiroga's *residencia,* is now published in Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos,* 409ff. Méndez Arceo has published some of the documents pertaining to the erection of the See of Michoacán, the confirmation of Don Vasco, and his relations with the Holy See, together with a calendar of events in "Contribución a la historia de Vasco de Quiroga," *Abside,* Mexico, D. F., V (January, 1941), 59–68, and continued in V (March, 1941), 196–208.

he came to New Spain. This constitutes a period of some sixty years for which we have only the barest outlines. Moreover, recent works have emphasized his early years in the New World and have slighted the long period of his pastorate.

This paper is an effort to draw together scattered materials concerning the erection of the See of Michoacán and Quiroga's appointment to it. The exposition of this period of Quiroga's life is important because it throws light on the much broader question of the relation of Church and State in Spain's new empire. It shows interesting details in the practice of the *patronato,* in a major instance of its application in the New World.

It is necessary to point out that the *patronato* was not new to Spain in the sixteenth century. It was one of the institutions which the Spaniards found ready to their hands when they began their colonial adventures.[6] There may be found a classic statement of its principles in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Wise which gives clear indication of the long historical tradition behind it even in the thirteenth century. Evidently the working principles of Church-State relations in the Indies were drawn from the arrangements made over the centuries with the Bishop of Rome, in behalf of a multitude of private foundations established by the rulers of the Iberian peninsula. Alfonso's famous code provides that the founder or patron of a church stands in the same relation to it as a watchful father to his son. He has certain privileges and duties:

"... the patronage is the right or power which those gain who are patrons by reason of the good they do, and this right is gained by them for three things. The first, for the land given on which the church is built. The second, because they do the building. The third, on account of the landed property which is given by those who leave an endowment from which the clergy live who serve it and from which they are able to comply with other matters as the title requires which prescribes how churches are to be built.

"Similarly, three things belong to the patron of right by reason of the patronage. The one is honor, another is assistance which he is to derive if in need ... and when the church is vacant, to present the priest for it."[7]

These arrangements under the *patronato* must not be confused

[6] Mary P. Halloran, *Church and State in Guatemala,* New York, 1949, in the opening chapter accurately traces the development of the *patronato* in the See of Guatemala. When she speaks of the Spanish antecedents of the *patronato,* however, she mistakenly applies the term to the whole "pattern" of state jurisdiction over the church in Spain (p. 16).

[7] *Las siete partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio, cotejadas con varios códices antiguos,* Madrid, 1807, part. I, lib. I, tit. XV. The code has been translated by Samuel Parsons Scott for the Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association, Chicago, New York and Washington, 1931.

with the practices of medieval monarchs which fall under the general title of lay investiture. The latter stemmed from the struggle of the new monarchies to control and centralize their holdings, and it involved basic theological considerations. The former, however, were based on specific delegations of administrative authority by the papacy arising from the cooperation of church and state in rolling back the domain of the infidel. Alfonso X indicated very clearly the historical reasons for the crusading king's prerogatives over churches built in lands captured from the Moors.[8] A crusade was the basis, for instance, on which the crown of Aragon from the thirteenth century controlled papal tithes in the reconquered areas.[9]

More especially, however, it was the conquest of Granada which set the precedent for the politico-religious organization of New Spain.[10] It was in Granada that the "particular patronage," as Mecham calls it, which ordinarily constituted rights over specific churches, was extended to a whole province, and the right of patronage came to have a territorial significance. Thus the Crown was able to revive ancient practices abandoned by reason of the failure to win the investiture struggles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and to change the practice of influencing canonical elections of prelates into the more effective right of patronal presentation.[11]

Hence, Ferdinand and Isabella had no need to improvise a system of religious control when the New World was discovered.[12]

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[8] *Ibid.*, part. I, lib. XVIII, tit. V.

[9] Pedro Leturia, "El origen histórico del patronato de Indias," *Razón y Fe*, Madrid, 78 (January–March, 1927), 26.

[10] *Ibid.*, 25. The Catholic Kings saw the advantage of making the campaign against Granada into a religious crusade. They made a pilgrimage to Campostela to invoke St. James, and their troops carried a great silver cross, the gift of Pope Sixtus IV; R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, New York, 1918, II, 66. At the start of the campaign, the papal nuncio extraordinary was sent by the monarchs to preach a crusade; Jesús García Gutiérrez, *Apuntes para la historia del origen y desenvolvimento del regio patronato indiano hasta 1857*, Mexico, 1941, 28.

[11] "Particular patronage," according to Mecham, continued to be practiced in Spain after "universal patronage," i.e., lay investiture, ceased; J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, Chapel Hill, 1934, 7, 9. In December, 1484, Innocent VIII bestowed on Ferdinand the patronage of all churches and convents in Granada and all other territories conquered or to be conquered from the Moors; Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages*, London, 1891–1941, V, 338–9. A feature of the grant involved the collection of the tithes from the conquered Moors to be used for their conversion; Gutiérrez, *Regio Patronato*, 28.

[12] The control of the Indies and of the *patronato* belonged exclusively to Isabella and the Crown of Castile. Ferdinand was given no rights in Castile by the marriage contract but was always more than interested in Castilian affairs; Gutiérrez, *Regio Patronato*, 35.

They merely adopted an old and efficiently working system to a new area. Moreover, there were other precedents. A willing pope had already conceded the *patronato* to the Portuguese in their new empire.[13] Now he proceeded to confirm and extend the Granadan grant of his predecessor, Innocent VIII, to the Spanish sovereigns by applying it to the New World.[14]

It is true that papal interests in Europe were best served by close cooperation with the Spanish sovereigns, but it is also abundantly clear that the latter would stand for no interference with their control of the Spanish church. Both Ferdinand and Isabella, particularly the former, insisted on papal confirmation of their nominees for Spanish bishoprics and followed up their demands with threats against the Holy See.[15]

The terms of the patronal grant for the Spanish possessions in America were set forth in the bull *Eximiae Devotionis* of November 16, 1501. The king was to found and endow the churches and was in turn to be recognized, honored, and given a share of the tithes.[16] Thus, the legal basis for the administration of the Church in America was set up before Columbus began his fourth voyage in 1502. It was not till 1504, however, that the Spanish government took action under its new charter. In that year Ferdinand requested the pope to permit the founding of three new dioceses for the West, and nominated persons to fill them. Apparently relying upon the previous concessions of the papacy made in 1501, Ferdinand did

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[13] A bull of Pope Calixtus III in 1455 gave jurisdiction over the Church in the Indies to the Prior Major of the Order of Caballéros de Cristo. Since the Portuguese monarch was also the prior of this order, he became something of a lay pope; Gutiérrez, *Regio patronato*, 22–27.

[14] The bull *Eximiae Devotionis* of May 4, 1493, granted to the Catholic monarchs the same rights over the church as had been given by other popes to the kings of Portugal in their overseas possessions; Francisco Javier Hernáez, *Colección de bulas, breves, y otros documentos relativos á la iglesia de America y Filipinas*, Brussels, 1879, I, 15–16.

[15] In 1478 Ferdinand disputed the succession to the See of Terragona with Sixtus IV. Ferdinand had his way and his candidate became bishop; Pastor, IV, 397. Isabella secured her candidate to the See of Cuença in 1482 only after she broke off communications with the papacy and threatened to call a council of the church; *Ibid.*, IV, 397. More startling is the action of Ferdinand in 1508 when he wrote to the viceroy of Naples threatening to withdraw all allegiance from the Holy See and to hang anyone who brought in a papal bull which had not received the royal approval; *Ibid.*, VI, 294.

[16] Hernáez, *Bulas*, I, 20–21. The bull is found in Spanish in F. Fita, S.J., "Primeros años del episcopado en America," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, Madrid (1892), XX, 261–2. An English version appears in N.A.N. Cleven, *Readings in Hispanic American History*, New York, 1927, 248–249.

not urge the details of his patronal rights.[17] He must have been surprised and chagrined when he received the papal answer in the bull *Illius Fulcite* of November 15, 1504, and found that it almost completely ignored those claims. It did not mention the right of presentation, and the prelates themselves were to collect and distribute the tithes "as in the rest of Spain."[18]

Ferdinand received the bull in August, 1505, a few months after Isabella's death deprived him of any authority over the affairs of the Indies. Nevertheless, he immediately dispatched a number of testy letters in protest to his ambassador in Rome. Among other things, he demanded the right of perpetual patronage, the right to allocate tithes and to create and set the limits of new dioceses.[19] As a spur to his demands, he held up the appointments for the new sees and refused to act under the bull of 1504 until these points were clarified.[20] A letter to his governor in Española, Ovando, in 1508, shows that prior to 1504 the only churches built in the New World had been provisional structures paid for by the colonists, although the Crown had been paying passage money and expenses to the missionaries.[21]

While the regency ruled Castile, the matter was neglected, but when Philip I died in 1507, Ferdinand returned to the direction of affairs and pursued his old plans vigorously.[22] His efforts resulted in the famous bull *Universalis Ecclesiae Regiminis* of July 28, 1508, which has been called the charter of Spain's patronal rights in the New World.[23] The text refers to the conquest of America as an

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17 Leturia claims that Ferdinand did not press for his rights over the Sees of Yaguata, Magua, and Baynúa because he thought that he would get them anyway; Leturia, "Origen del patronato," *loc. cit.*, 30–31.

18 This bull of Julius II inaugurated the episcopacy in America. Loughran points out the top-heavy character of the first episcopal organization and shows that Yaguata presents the unique case of an archbishopric set up in a wilderness. Cf. E. Ward Loughran, "The First Episcopal Sees in America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, X (May, 1930), 171.

19 Ferdinand to Rojas, September 13, 1505, in Fita, "Primeros años del episcopado en America," *loc. cit.*, 272–273.

20 Loughran, *loc. cit.*, 174.

21 Two bulls dated April 8, 1510, and August 13, 1511, secured for Ferdinand his coveted rights over the tithes; Leturia, "Origen del patronato," *loc. cit.*, 33–34.

22 Ferdinand was forced to let the regency take over the affairs of Castile between 1505 and 1507. His interest in renewing his claims is shown in a letter to Ovando of October 25, 1507, in Fita, "Primeros años del episcopado en America," 275. Another letter of April 30, 1508, to Ovando shows that he is still awaiting action on his request to Rome, Fita, *loc. cit.*, 277.

23 The Latin text is in Hernáez, *Bulas*, I, 24–25. Leturia points out that this is taken from a copy of the original now in the Archivo de Indias. The original, known in the first half of the 17th century, has been lost;

enterprise undertaken by the Spanish Crown at great expense in order to realize the words of Scripture: *"In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum."* The grant of patronal rights is complete. Nothing, however, is mentioned about two of Ferdinand's demands, his sharing of the revenues and his right to set diocesan limits.[24] After further correspondence, however, Ferdinand secured exemption from tithing of all precious metals mined for the king, and arranged that tithes were to be handled according to the ancient custom of Seville, which reserved a third for the Crown.[25] The right to fix the limits of the dioceses was not granted till the next reign. In 1525 Charles was permitted to set the limits of the diocese of Yucatán, but the general power was not granted till 1543.[26] Meanwhile and without papal authorization, Charles proceeded to delimit old and to create new bishoprics. A letter of the queen to the Second Audiencia of New Spain, July 12, 1530, announced the presentation of Fray Julián Garcés and Fray Juan de Zumárraga to the newly created Sees of Tlaxcala and Mexico respectively. An interesting clause states that the appointment was made on condition that whenever the king deemed it convenient, new dioceses would be erected in the province.[27] The queen asked, therefore, in behalf of the king for information from the oidores whether to enlarge, cut down, or create more sees.

On March 20, 1532, the queen wrote again on the same subject from Medina del Campo. She had seen the recommendations of the audiencia in their letter dated the preceding August, and she urged the oidores to set the proper limits for Tlaxcala and to advise her whether others should be set up and where.[28] A letter from the audiencia of July 5, 1532, indicates that they have sent her their suggestions together with a description of the country.[29] This docu-

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Leturia, *loc. cit.*, 33, note 2. Cuevas challenges the authenticity of this copy because, among other things, it contains an anachronism, referring in 1508 to the conquest of New Spain as if it were an accomplished fact; Mariano Cuevas, S.J., *Historia de la iglesia en México*, El Paso, 1928, II, 48f. There is a Spanish translation of the bull in Lucas Ayarragaray, *La iglesia en América y la dominación española*, Buenos Aires, 1920, 162, and an English version in Mecham, *Church and State*, 18–20.

[24] Leturia, *loc. cit.*, 33.

[25] *Ibid.*, 33–34. These provisions were contained in two bulls dated April 8, 1510, and August 13, 1511.

[26] *Ibid.*, 34.

[27] Queen to the audiencia, July 12, 1530, in Vasco de Puga, *Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones para el gobierno de la Nueva España*, Mexico, 1563, reproduced in *Colección de incunables americanos, siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1945, III, folio 41–42.

[28] *Ibid.*, fol. 76–77.

[29] Audiencia to the empress, July 5, 1532, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de Nueva España, 1505–1818*, Mexico, 1939, 180–182.

ment is missing, but it is clear that Charles' council was in possession of it when the king met his advisers at Barcelona on November 8, 1533, and they suggested the erection of three new bishoprics for the mainland besides that of Mexico.[30]

The king's reply is given from Toledo, February 20, 1534, providing for the demarcation of the four provinces of Mexico, Michoacán, Cuaçacualco, and Mistecas, and suggesting that if further changes were necessary he should be consulted.[31] Two months later, Juan de Zumárraga, Bishop of Mexico, then visiting Spain, protested the new arrangement on the grounds that it would deprive his diocese of essential revenue. Consequently, the king ordered a delay pending the receipt of more information.[32] Meanwhile, without waiting for an answer, the Council of the Indies proceeded to recommend the men to fill two of the newly designated dioceses, Michoacán and Cuaçacualco.

The council's choice for Michoacán was Fray Luis de Fuensalida, one of the famous twelve Franciscans who came early to the New World.[33] The council's opinion was presented to the king in a *consulta* of December 19, 1534.[34] Accordingly, he signed the cédulas of presentation to the pope on January 14, 1534.[35] Before the matter was taken up with the papacy, however, the nominee was advised of his selection in New Spain, but Fuensalida pleaded to be released from the assignment because of advanced age and illness.[36]

During the next few months nothing was done. The council may have considered other candidates, but by December 5, 1535,

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30 Méndez Arceo, "Quiroga," *Abside*, V (January, 1941), 63, note 15.

31 King to the audiencia, February 20, 1534, in Puga, *Cédulas*, fol. 90–91.

32 King to the audiencia, April 18, 1534, Puga, *Cédulas*, fol. 92.

33 Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia*, I, 167.

34 Méndez Arceo, "Quiroga," 66. Appendix 1 gives a summary of the *consulta* from the Archivo de Indias.

35 *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones de ultramar*, 2nd series, Madrid, 1885–1928, XVIII, 48.

36 A letter of Fuenleal, bishop of Santo Domingo, to the king, September 7, 1535, speaks of approaching Luis de Fuensalida and Francisco Jiménez, both Franciscans, with the king's nomination to sees in New Spain and of their firm refusal; Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario*, III, 180f. Nicolas León says that the refusal of Fuensalida, nominee for Michoacán, was because of his desire to continue work among the Indians; León, *Quiroga*, 28. Fuensalida was at this time the Guardian of the Franciscan convent at Texcoco; Moreno, *Quiroga*, 49. After Jiménez's refusal, no more is heard of the plan for Cuaçacualco. The area was made a part of the diocese of Antequera (Oaxaca) in 1538; Méndez Arceo, "Quiroga," 65, note 19.

the members had made up their minds to present to the king the name of Vasco de Quiroga.[37] The choice was by no means a coincidence. The councillors knew their man, as the *consulta* indicated. An abundance of correspondence from and about the oidor had come into their hands since his arrival in New Spain five years before. He had been the subject of both complaint and satisfaction in the letters of his colleagues and of the colonists. Salmerón, his fellow judge, admitted that Don Vasco was zealous for the welfare of the Indians but complained that he was also timid and scrupulous, better fitted to carry out orders than to give them.[38] The newly appointed viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, required more help of the king since "Quiroga, because of his interest in the Indians and in the affairs of the church, was neglecting his other duties as oidor."[39]

What probably characterized him most, however, in the minds of the Council of the Indies, was that he took a hand in policy-making. In two remarkable letters to the king, the first in 1531 and the second in 1534 which runs some two hundred pages in reprint, Quiroga supplied a plan for his Indian commonwealth.[40]

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[37] *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies to Charles V, December 5, 1535, in Méndez Arceo, "Quiroga," 67, appendix II. It reads as follows: "The bishopric of Michoacán which is in New Spain has until now not been provided for because, although Your Majesty has named some persons for it, they have not accepted. And in the Royal Audiencia of New Spain is a lawyer, Quiroga, who is an oidor of that body, concerning whom we have good reports of life and conduct, and because he has been and is very much interested in the conversion and good treatment of the Indians and instruction in the matters of our Holy Faith, in which he has spent a great part of the salary that Your Majesty has ordered paid him, it is the opinion of the council that, if he will accept, that bishopric will be well provided for. And in case Your Majesty would be pleased to order him nominated, we are sending along the papers already prepared. We pray Your Majesty to make known to us how you may be served in this matter."

[38] Salméron to the Council of the Indies, August 13, 1531, in Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir á l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amerique*, Paris, 1837–40, 195.

[39] Mendoza to the king, December 10, 1537, Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, Luis Torres de Mendoza, eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*, Madrid, 1864–84, II, 183.

[40] Quiroga maintained that Indian institutions must be developed along the lines of local needs and conditions. "... our customs cannot be made to conform to theirs, neither can we make them adopt our manner of laws nor our government." Again he says that the Spaniard must not behave like "... the itinerant doctor who wishes to cure all sickness with the same remedy, or the other who has all the remedies in his cabinet and draws out the first that he lays his hand on without making any distinction in them, not knowing that what may cure Dominic may make Peter sick"; "Información en derecho," *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, X, 363, 364. There is a detailed treatment of Quiroga's ideas on this matter in Lietz, "Quiroga and the Audiencia," 117ff., and in Silvio A. Zavala, *Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga*, 56–57.

Impatient of success in his efforts to win the government to his views, Quiroga proceeded on his own initiative to establish the first of the famous pueblo-hospitals at Santa Fe on the outskirts of Mexico City. His creation of an all-Indian, self-governing community under Christian auspices was regarded with mixed feelings by the Spaniards and the council again had reason to be concerned with its oidor.[41] Nevertheless, the project was in a flourishing condition by 1533, and the president of the audiencia was willing to ask the king for royal support and endowment.[42]

Quiroga's activities further brought him to the attention of the court when his colleagues selected him in 1533 to carry out the queen's order for a visitation of the valuable and extensive territory of Michoacán.[43] This area had been systematically despoiled by the unscrupulous Guzmán after his dismissal from the Audiencia of Mexico. His efforts to recoup fame and fortune at the expense of the native Tarascan Indians had brought about a situation in which New Spain was threatened by a prolonged Indian war that would have seriously delayed the Spanish penetration.[44]

Quiroga carried out his mission with the usual zeal for the conversion of the natives, and used the opportunity of his visit to establish other hospital-pueblos on the plan of that at Santa Fe. The queen, impressed by the work, showed her satisfaction by ordering an endowment of land for its support.[45] On the same day, she sent out an order arranging for the *residencia* of her government in New Spain, the customary trial required of all crown officials when their term of duty ended.[46]

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[41] Salmerón, Maldonado, Ceynos, and Quiroga to the king, August 14, 1531, in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*, XVI, 165–166. Regarding the concern felt by the colonists at having a concentration of Indians in the outskirts of Mexico City, cf. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano*, Madrid, 1601, dec. V, lib. V, cap. IX.

[42] Fuenleal to the queen, August 8, 1533, Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de la Nueva España*, III, 141.

[43] "Testimonio del proceso de residencia," a manuscript in the possession of Mariano Cuevas, published in Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 431. This document settles beyond question the date of the visitation, about which there is much confusion among the earlier writers. Cf. Pablo de la Concepción Beaumont, *Crónica de la provincia de los santos apóstoles Pedro y Pablo de Michoacán*, Mexico, 1873, IV, 11f. Contrary to the claim of Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, xix, this is not the first publication of the papers of the residencia. They can be found virtually complete in Beaumont, *Crónica*, III, 307ff., taken from a copy of the original found in the *cabildo* of the cathedral at Valladolid.

[44] Beaumont, *Crónica*, III, 334–5.

[45] Queen to Mendoza, November 13, 1535, in Beaumont, *Crónica*, V, 290.

[46] Queen to Francisco de Loaysa, November 13, 1535, *Ibid.*, III, 311–315.

Without waiting for the trial to take place, however, the Council of the Indies took up the matter of a bishop for Michoacán and, as stated above, sent Quiroga's name to the king. Apparently, he saw and agreed to the recommendation sometime near the end of December.[47] The papers of presentation had now to be placed before the Holy See. This was ordinarily done through the regular diplomatic channels, using the Spanish ambassador at Rome for the business.[48] The actual transmission of the request and the return of the necessary bulls was entrusted by the queen and council to the Genoese banking firm of Stephen Doria and Company, who were to be paid at Seville at the rate of fifteen ducats for each dispatch when the business had been completed.[49]

It seems to have required over two and a half months for the mechanics of the transaction to be completed as far as Rome, for on August 18, 1536, the acts of the papal consistory indicate that on that day the Cardinal Protector of Castile, Hercules Gonzaga, made the required plea to the assembled cardinals for the erection of the bishopric of Michoacán with Quiroga as the first bishop.[50]

This action resulted in drawing up a series of papal bulls giving notice of the erection of the diocese and Quiroga's papal appointment to those concerned, including Don Vasco, the clergy and people of the area, the archbishop of Seville who had jurisdiction over the Spanish sees of the New World, and the king.[51] Of particular interest is the bull for the erection of the diocese, which plainly indicates the arrangement between pope and emperor governing the foundation of these new sees as it had been developed to the year 1536.[52] It is a fine summary of the working of the *patronato real* because it sets down in skeleton form the rights and duties of both parties. The king has expressed the wish that the faith be spread, says the bull, but under government control, and he proposes that a church already established in Michoacán under the title of San Francisco be elevated to a cathedral. The pope, after mature de-

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47 Méndez Arceo, "Quiroga," *Ábside*, V (January, 1941), note 23 and appendix III, 67–68. The document is a record of the *consultas* of December 5 and 22.

48 Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia*, I, 301.

49 This was done on May 26, 1536. Cf. Méndez Arceo, "Quiroga," *Ábside*, V (March, 1941), note 28, 197.

50 *Ibid.*, note 29, 197.

51 The bulls were discovered in the Vatican Archives by Méndez Arceo but have not yet been published; *Ibid.*, note 33, 198.

52 The bull of erection of Paul III is found in the *auto* of Quiroga of 1554 translated into Spanish; Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 229f.

liberation with his brethren, grants the request. The new diocese will depend upon the archbishop of Seville.

Moreover, the pope concedes to Charles and to the kings of Castile and León who may succeed him, the right of the patronage, and of presentation within the space of one year—because of the distance involved—of competent persons to be named bishops for the see each time it may be vacant, excepting the first time. The pope makes an exception of the first time because Quiroga has already been named.

Similarly the king is conceded the right to present to the bishopric of Michoacán, in virtue of the papal grant, the members of his diocese holding such important titles and emoluments under the bishop as canonries, prebends, and benefices. Moreover, it is the king's right to set the limits of the diocese as he may deem fitting. This arrangement, because it involved the important item of diocesan income, really gave the king a powerful instrument of authority. Later, it led to a protracted lawsuit between Quiroga and Zumárraga, Archbishop of Mexico, which was not settled until after the latter's death.[53] The decision in the case was rendered, strangely enough, by the Audiencia of Mexico, then after appeal, by the Council of the Indies. There was no thought of securing a papal settlement of the dispute. In accordance with the terms of the patronal grant, it went no further than the king.

While the pope thus conferred wide privileges upon his royal son, he asked in return the fulfillment of the usual obligations of a patron. The bull of Paul III required that if the income from the tithes did not reach the annual sum of two hundred gold ducats the deficit must be made up from the royal treasury.[54] This is a specific application of the old principle that the patron must give continuing support to his foundation.

The brief, *Tuae Devotionis,* of December 9, 1536, takes notice of Quiroga's appointment to the new see, and the pope orders him to be consecrated. He requires that it be done by a bishop assisted by two abots or two other "persons of ecclesiastical dignity."[55]

Apparently, the brief and the bulls arrived in Spain sometime

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[53] Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia,* I, 348f.

[54] Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos,* 252. The bull also contains the usual exemption of metal production from tithing. Beaumont, *Crónica,* IV, 16, has a discussion of the similarity in form and content of the papal documents setting up the sees of Mexico and Michoacán.

[55] Reprinted in Méndez Arceo, "Quiroga," *Abside,* V (March, 1941), 203.

before March 2, 1537, because on that day the king ordered the officials of the Casa de Contratación at Seville to pay Stephen Doria and Company, his Genoese banking agents, the 164,625 maravedís which was the cost of the expedition of the documents.[56] The same day a letter was sent to the Audiencia of Mexico requiring that this amount be deducted from the income of the 500,000 maravedís provided for the diocese under the papal bull. The amount was then to be forwarded to Seville to the king's account.[57]

Meanwhile, in Mexico, Quiroga had completed his visitation of the province which was to be his new diocese and had successfully sustained his residential trial.[58] It is not certain just when he received the directives from pope and monarch, but several documents indicate that although not yet consecrated, he had already entered upon the administrative work of the church. A letter of the queen to Mendoza in 1537 indicates that the cathedral church was already in the planning stage. She records that Quiroga had asked for Indian help to put up the building. He wanted to use the labor of commended Indians since the current tithes were not adequate for hiring workmen. She ordered Mendoza to provide the required assistance either from Indians under the Crown or those whose labor was committed to private encomenderos. This was to be done with as little vexation as possible to the natives. She also gave orders that a residence for the bishop be made a part of the construction and that the site chosen be agreeable both to Quiroga and the viceroy.[59] So busy was the oidor with this work that the viceroy complained to the king in December that he needed more help in governing Mexico, since Quiroga was neglecting State affairs for those of the Church.[60]

Quiroga's interest in church matters extended beyond administrative problems. In fact, he injected himself into one of the most lively doctrinal disputes of the time. It concerned the manner of conferring baptism upon the natives. As early as February, 1537, Zumárraga had notified the Council of the Indies that "The oidor Quiroga is of the opinion that baptism of adults is not to be done,

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56 *Ibid.*, 199.
57 *Ibid.*, 199.
58 The trial lasted from February 24, to May 19, 1536; "Testimonio del proceso de residencia," in Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 411–454.
59 Queen to Mendoza, September 20, 1537, Puga, *Cédulas*, fol. 114.
60 Mendoza to the king, December 10, 1537, *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, II, 183.

save at certain times established by the church," and he urges the Council to take a hand even though the case might go to Rome.[61]

The controversy had originated among the missionary orders over the practice of a shortened form of baptism which postponed the attendant ceremonies involving the use of oil and chrism, because these could not be obtained in sufficient quantities to meet the requirements of the thousands of Indians who flocked to be baptized. The matter was of transcendant importance because the dispute threw doubt upon the validity of thousands of baptisms and left the friars open to a charge of serious neglect.[62]

The question aroused such bitterness that it was referred to a junta composed of the members of the audiencia, the bishops, and the heads of the religious orders of New Spain meeting in Mexico City. Even this body failed to agree, largely it seems because of the persistence of the oidor, Quiroga, who had written a treatise insisting upon the strict view in the dispute. He maintained that the sacrament must be administered with all the attendant ceremonies, and that adults were to be baptized only at Easter and Pentecost after proper instruction.[63]

The junta referred the dispute to the Council of the Indies and to the archbishop of Seville who, in turn, sent it on to the pope. Then the three attending bishops of Mexico, Oajaca, and Guatemala, wrote a letter to the king briefly summarizing the points of difference and asking for a settlement of the matter.[64] Here, then, was a doctrinal affair being debated before a mixed junta of religious and secular authorities and then appealed by the local heads of the Church to the head of the State for adjudication. It speaks eloquently of the mixed lines of religious and secular authority under the *patronato*.

The king's answer to the letter of the bishops was to send along a copy of the papal bull, *Altitudo divino consilii,* which had been

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61 Zumárraga to the Council of the Indies, February 8, 1537, in Mariano Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1914, 74.

62 Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Biografía de Fr. Juan de Zumárraga*, Mexico, 1947, 123–124.

63 *Ibid.*, 124, 128.

64 The Bishops of Mexico, Oaxaca, and Guatemala to the king, November 30, 1537, *ibid.*, appendix, document 21. "... and concerning this matter, the bishop-elect of Michoacán with much study and labor has written a treatise in which it is concluded that one ought not and may not administer baptism except as it was done in the primitive church ... we beg Your Majesty to command that through your royal council an order be given to all who administer baptism that they maintain uniformity ..."

issued even before the bishops had made their request.[65] The pope's pronouncement arrived in Mexico sometime during 1538.[66] In order to deal with it and other pressing matters concerning the Church in New Spain, the bishops were called together by Mendoza, acting under royal orders, at the beginning of 1539.[67] They found that the bull absolved from blame the friars who had used the shortened form of baptism to bring adults into the church in wholesale fashion. Thenceforth, however, in order that the natives might not confuse the sacrament with mere washing, all the prescribed ceremonies of the Church were to be followed, except in urgent cases.[68]

It remained for the junta to explain and interpret the bull, especially such phrases as "urgent necessity" when the usual regulations could be waived. Adults were not to be baptized as the opportunity offered itself but only at Easter, except in cases of emergency. The latter point was carefully explained to mean danger of shipwreck, serious sickness, dwelling in an unsafe country where converts could not live in security but were in constant danger of death, and similar cases. Finally, the junta commissioned Quiroga to arrange a *Manual de adultos* to contain the necessary instructions in conformity with regulations laid down by pope and bishops. This book was printed in Mexico City on the famous press of Juan Cromberger in 1540.[69]

There can be no doubt that Quiroga had a major role in the deliberations of the assembly and that the Franciscans, who were the principal opponents of his views, were defeated. They accepted the decision humbly, but the great Toribio Motolinía wrote bitter words in his history about the newcomers to the country who pretend to know more than the older inhabitants about its problems.

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65 Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Mexico, 1945, II, 117–120, contains a Spanish translation. The Latin version is in Hernáez, *Bulas*, I, 65.

66 Mendieta, *Historia*, II, 122.

67 "Capítulos de la junta eclesiástica de 1539," Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, III, document No. 37, 37, mentions that the meeting began April 27.

68 Mendieta, *Historia*, II, 117–120.

69 Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, III, document No. 37, 161. The same author records that the *Manual* was still being used for Indian baptism in the last part of the century; *Ibid.*, I, 142. A note traces the history of the document, which has been lost. The author lists it among the works of Zumárraga because it was printed at his expense, although it is clear that Quiroga arranged it; *Ibid.*, II, 12–17. A reproduction of two extant pages may be seen in Harisse, *Introducción de la imprenta in América*, Madrid, 1872.

He among others proceeded to ignore the order, arguing plausibly that souls would be lost if adults were not baptized on the spot.[70]

In the midst of these activities Quiroga was elevated to the See of Michoacán, thus becoming the third bishop consecrated in the New World.[71] The notable event took place sometime in December, 1538, at Mexico City with Zumárraga officiating.[72] It was necessary for Quiroga to receive all the orders of the priesthood, from tonsure to consecration, in immediate succession, which would be unusual in later times.[73] Contemporaries, however, express no concern about it, nor was there anything irregular in the procedure. A sixteenth century man of Quiroga's training and talents would find little difficulty in the immediate transition from the secular to the clerical state of life, radical as it might seem to another age.

Apparently, Quiroga had gone to Michoacán in 1538 before his consecration as bishop-elect, to take official possession of his diocese.[74] His first choice of a site for his cathedral was the ancient Tarascan capital, Tzintzuntzán, but it was almost immediately abandoned for the more favorable Pátzcuaro.[75] Later the same year he wrote to the king requesting him to obtain papal authority for his move, but the king answered that he needed no such permission.[76] The ruler subsequently changed his mind, because there

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[70] The Franciscans simply replied that they would "...keep the bull and all apostolic orders and decrees;" Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, I, 140. Fray Toribio who is credited with baptizing more than forty thousand Indians, Mendieta, *Historia*, I, 140, tells us himself that sometime later, he and another friar baptized by actual count some fourteen thousand Indians in the space of five days; Toribio de Benevente ó Montolinía, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, Barcelona, 1914, 113.

[71] Both Zárate of Oaxaca and Marroquín of Guatemala were consecrated by Zumárraga in 1537; Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, I, 159–160.

[72] Icazbalceta points out that the *actas* of the ecclesiastical *cabildo* of Mexico City refer to Quiroga on November 26 as "elect," and on the following January 14, he is called "bishop"; *Zumárraga*, I, 159–160. The term "elect" indicates that he still lacked consecration, although as used here the title is a misnomer. As Cuevas points out in the case of Zumárraga where the same misuse occurred, he should properly have been designated as "presentado." Presentation was entirely distinct from canonical election, which was the regular action taken by the ecclesiastical cabildo when there was one. Presentation in itself conferred no right to exercise ecclesiastical functions or authority; Cuevas, *Historia de iglesia*, I, 300.

[73] Quiroga says in his will that he was an oidor "...many years before having any ecclesiastical order or church revenues;" Testamento del Ilmo. Sr. D. Vasco de Quiroga," Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 276.

[74] León, *Quiroga*, appendix 3 is the notary's statement which places the date as August 6, 1538.

[75] Apparently he moved on the day after his arrival at Tzintzuntzán; Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, note 141, 208.

[76] The king's answer from Toledo was sent June 26, 1539; Beaumont, *Crónica*, II, 371.

is a record of his request in the brief of Pope Julius III, issued in 1550, sanctioning the change.[77]

That Quiroga began his episcopal duties without papal confirmation or episcopal consecration and that he moved his church without papal approval seem to be acts of great presumption. It is clear that the pope's authority was a remote consideration in the operation of the *patronato*.[78] In fairness, however, it must be noted that with the difficulties of communication under which the system operated, the only possibility of carrying on the normal activities of administration was to presume a favorable answer to every request.

After the brief interlude when he returned to Mexico for consecration and to attend the council of 1539, Quiroga went back to his diocese.[79] There, his first problems were episcopal revenues and the building of a church. It has been mentioned that the queen had given Don Vasco permission to use the Indians for the building, and Moreno shows that for a time he held Indians in encomienda to help make up for the deficiency of income.[80] Moreover, the king had suspended the exercise of his papal right to collect and distribute the tithes. Thus, the bishop controlled his own revenues by permission of the king. In no way was papal authority directly involved in the subsistence of the diocese.

The blueprint of diocesan finances laid out for the first dioceses in the New World was followed down to 1554 in the diocese of Michoacán. The total revenues of the bishopric, derived from tithes, stipends, and first fruits, were divided into four parts. One-fourth went to the bishop for his personal support, and one-fourth to the cathedral chapter. The rest was divided into nine parts: two-ninths to the king, by patronal right; four-ninths for the support of the clergy and three-ninths for the hospitals.[81]

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[77] The brief is found in the "Testimonio" of Quiroga of 1554; Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 104–105.

[78] Zumárraga's investiture is a case in point. As soon as he was presented he was sent to the diocese, not yet erected and without designated boundaries. Nevertheless, he judged cases and conducted the affairs of the diocese. When the bulls came to Spain, about three years later, the king held them up because he had begun to doubt his bishop's loyalty. Zumárraga was summarily called to Spain to give an account of his actions. He was finally consecrated five years and four months after his presentation; Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, 164.

[79] Moreno, *Quiroga*, reprinted in Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 53.

[80] Moreno reproduces a letter of Philip to Mendosa, dated July 31, 1545, which says that Quiroga had released his Indians in accordance with the New Laws; Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 163.

[81] "Testimonio" of 1554, in Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 238–240.

While the crown for a time provided generously for the deficiencies in episcopal revenue, it was careful to see that everyone contributed his share. In 1544, after careful investigation, the king decided that from that time on, all the Indians should pay tithes in New Spain.[82] When extra funds were needed for the completion of the church at Pátzcuaro, the king decreed that an equal share of the cost should be borne by himself, the Indians, and the inhabitants and encomenderos.[83]

The slenderness of the episcopal revenues was a cause of many difficulties in the new diocese.[84] The amount of the income was directly connected with the number of persons included and, consequently, with the diocesan limits.[85] The right to set the limits of Michoacán had been conceded to Charles by the pope, in the bull of erection of 1536.[86] In the customary manner, Charles had already anticipated the concession, and two years before had ordered the Audiencia to determine the limits of the new diocese. This important matter was done in a vague way, leaving details to be decided upon later.[87]

There resulted a number of lawsuits over the tithes, the most important of which found Quiroga and Zumárraga in legal battle over the right to collect revenues from several encomenderos in the neighborhood of Querétaro. Both men initially agreed to have the case decided by the Audiencia, but differed in their concepts of how that body should function. Zumárraga offered the case for arbitration, denying any judicial authority to the oidores. Quiroga wanted a judicial decision and, further, insisted upon his right to appeal to the king. He refused to submit the case on any other basis. But the audiencia agreed with the Bishop of Mexico that it had no jurisdiction in purely ecclesiastical matters and referred the question to the king.[88] Charles ordered the bishop of Michoacán to submit his case to the Audiencia and a suit began which dragged

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[82] Philip to the dean and cabildo of Mexico City, August 8, 1544, Puga, *Cédulas*, fol. 149.

[83] King to the viceroy, March 11, 1550, Puga, *Cédulas*, fol. 145. Cf. also Philip to the audiencia, August 8, 1552, *Ibid.*, fol. 149.

[84] The episcopal fourth in 1563 did not amount to more than 1,810 pesos; Moreno, *Quiroga*, 164.

[85] King to the audiencia, April 18, 1534; Puga, *Cédulas*, fol. 92. Zumárraga complained that the partition of his diocese would cut his revenue from 2,800 pesos to 700, which would impoverish his church.

[86] Dated August 6, 1536, printed in the "Testimonio," Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos*, 102–104.

[87] King to the audiencia, February 20, 1534; Puga, *Cédulas*, fol. 90.

[88] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, 171–172.

on till 1556.[89] In that year, a decision was given in favor of Michoacán.[90]

This suit is a clear instance of the development of the machinery of control under the *patronato.* The local authority, while it does lip service to the concept of the separation of civil and ecclesiastical power, is ordered by the crown to decide a case involving church revenues. Furthermore, the decision is accepted by two ranking prelates of the New World, both of whom acknowledge thereby the exclusive jurisdiction of the king in these matters. It does not seem exaggerated, at this point, to say that the Church in New Spain had passed into a state of financial vassalage to the Crown.

Aside from financial control, the diocesan personnel was also under close secular control. The "Testimonio" of 1554, which sets forth details of diocesan machinery in Michoacán, breathes the spirit of regalism. The document proclaims that it is the job of the emperor "por elección divina" to bring all nations to proclaim the one faith, and to keep and preserve the Church in orthodoxy.[91] Under this obligation, having implored papal consent, he has decreed the erection of the new bishopric.[92] The royal authority then was made to reach down and direct the appointment of all dignitaries, canons and prebends.[93] Only the rectors, chaplains, and acolytes were exempt from royal presentation.[94] Even the correction and punishment of the clergy, while reserved to the bishop, could only be carried out at the instance of the patron or with his accord.[95] Finally, any changes in the diocesan regulations required the emperor's request or approval.[96]

The investigations which led to this paper give no reason for modifying the conclusion reached by Mecham and others, that governmental control over the Church in New Spain was by 1550 complete and unchallenged. The evidence is completely convincing that a barrier had been set up in the course of time between the Holy See and the Church in the New World, which could not have

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89 King to Quiroga, October 3, 1539, Puga, *Cédulas,* fol. 118.

90 The decision of September 12, 1556, ordered payment as damages, of all tithes collected from 1535 to the end of 1537, but since Zumárraga died without funds, three houses he had given to the Hospital Amor de Dios were ordered sold; Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga,* document No. 48, 211.

91 "Testimonio" in Aguayo Spencer, *Quiroga, documentos,* 229.

92 *Ibid.,* 230.

93 *Ibid.,* 235.

94 *Ibid.,* 235.

95 *Ibid.,* 240.

96 *Ibid.,* 242.

been breached even if there had been desire to do so, and evidently it was not. The advantage to both parties was so overwhelming that the papacy did not concern itself, as the State had no reason to do, with the almost pontifical character of royal control.

The remarkable feature of the system, however, seems to be the caution and spirit of moderation with which the monarchy exploited its advantage. There is the important fact that in such a system a man of Quiroga's caliber could rise so easily to a position of prominence. At least in these first years of Spanish rule in America the tremendous power of the *patronato* was used nobly. The monarchs showed commendable zeal for the conversion of the natives, in which they spent their substance liberally, and they strove mightily to carry out the religious obligation upon which was founded their title to the Indies.

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Brother Boruhradsky, Alias de Castro

American scholars are aware that among the Spanish missionaries in Mexico, the Marianas, and the Philippine Islands, there were Jesuits from other European countries besides those of Spain.[1] Some of these non-Spanish missionaries had changed their names into Spanish because of the difficulty which Spaniards and Indians alike found in spelling and pronouncing their non-Spanish names. In this way the real nationality of some was naturally lost in an alias. Laboring alongside the Spanish Jesuits in mission fields of the New World were many from Bohemia and Moravia.

A former rector of the Jesuit college in Prague, Father Joseph Vrastil, S.J., spent a long term of years gathering together such shreds of historical sources as had been left in Bohemia after the archives of the Jesuits were scattered when the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773. It was his desire to supplement the work of other scholars in this field because he had access to sources that were certainly unused by and apparently unknown to others. But it was also his desire to make known the share of his fellow countrymen of that earlier day in the work of the foreign missions, a share which their changed names had obscured for posterity. There was still another reason for his work. In those days, in fact well up into the first quarter of the twentieth century, historians all too often spoke of the subject-nationals in the Austrian Empire as Austrians and thus detracted from the prestige of those who were not Austrians but Slavs.

Father Vrastil had accumulated a very extensive collection of letters, notes, and comments, written by Slavs in their missionary fields. However, he died before his work of collecting was completed. Then came the Nazi occupation of Prague in 1939. In that dark hour his collection of sources was scattered ruthlessly, if not completely destroyed, when the Nazis took over the Jesuit college without warning, after turning the Community out in the streets. The Nazis made over the building into a Gestapo headquarters,

[1] See Theodore E. Treutlein, "Non-Spanish Jesuits in Spain's American Colonies," in *Greater America, Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1945, 219–242, for fuller treatment of this subject.

and it still is a police headquarters though under another administration.

Only one complete sketch written by Father Vrastil found its way into print. It is given below in translation. It appeared in what was a sort of news letter published privately and irregularly by the Jesuits of Czechoslovakia for the information of "their relatives, friends, and benefactors, and for other members of the Society of Jesus." A brief biographical account of Brother Boruhradsky, who went to Mexico to work among the Tarahumara Indians but found himself in the palace of the viceroy, is followed by three of the brother's letters from the capital of New Spain. The second and third of these are important eyewitness accounts of four notable events in the long history of Mexico City, the control of the freshet floods, the corn riot of 1692, the burning of the old palace, and the construction of the present National Palace.

I. First News from Mexico

Among the Jesuit missionaries working in Mexico during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, there were altogether one hundred and fifty Jesuits from the Bohemian Province of the old Society. Of these, thirty were Jesuit lay brothers, while the rest were all priests. Some of these lay brothers had finished six years of gymnasium before entering the Society. On the missions they served as builders, cabinet makers, artists, and other such like craftsmen, but most of all they signalized themselves as pharmacists. The first of these lay brothers to be sent overseas from Bohemia was Brother Simon Boruhradsky, of Polna in Moravia. His father was the town clerk and alderman and owned his own home on Rose Street, in Polna. There were ten children in the family and Simon was the third oldest. In the parish register (1640–1695) the entry of his baptism reads as follows:

Infant—Simon Wolfgang, born Oct. 26, 1650; the father, Wenceslaus Boruhradsky; the mother, Magdalena; the godfather, the noble and high-born Knight, Lord Frederick Smilkovsky of Palmberg; the godmother, Lady Ludmila Winter; the baptizing priest, Father Kaspar Hoenig.

The father of Simon died in 1672 and his mother in 1685.

Having finished the six years' course in the gymnasium, Simon began to study philosophy. Somewhere during these philosophical studies he met with several Jesuit missionaries who were giving parish missions in various parts of Bohemia and Moravia. Through his

acquaintance with these men he began to think of a religious vocation. He left his studies and found employment as assistant steward and builder on one of the Jesuit estates. He remained there till Oct. 25, 1670, when he entered the Society of Jesus as a novice lay brother. He applied for admission into the Society at Olomouce and made his novitiate in Brno.[2]

When in 1678 the foreign mission field was opened to the members of the Bohemian Province of the Society of Jesus, Brother Simon was the first to volunteer for the missions overseas. He applied directly to the General at Rome. The letter dated January 6, 1678, was in Latin and is kept in the Jesuit archives. In this letter Brother Simon asks for the mission of Mexico. The Father General [John Paul Oliva] granted his request. He left Prague on the third of April of the same year, 1678, in a group of six Jesuits, five priests and himself. Among these priests was Father Augustine Strobach who was soon to be a martyr. The party traveled from Prague across Bavaria and the Tyrol to Genoa. From Genoa they sailed to Cádiz in Spain. As they were approaching the harbor at Cádiz they saw to their dismay that the ship bound for America was just pulling out of the harbor. That meant more than a year's delay before they would have the opportunity to set sail for the New World.

Brother Simon spent the time at Seville learning the Spanish language and meantime helping the Spanish Jesuit whose duty it was to collect men and equipment for the Mexican Mission. Finally in the summer of 1680 this group of Bohemian Jesuits left Seville and sailed down the Quadalquivir River toward Cádiz. But again they met with another set-back. Their little boat was too heavily laden and hit upon a hidden reef. It foundered so fast that they could scarcely save their baggage. Brother Simon was assigned to watch the baggage on shore. Meantime he was forgotten in the confusion and so was his cargo. Only in the last minute did he discover that the others had already gone in small boats to the ship in the harbor which was to carry them to Mexico. In frantic haste he got someone else to take care of the baggage and managed to get into a small boat which brought him to the ship bound for the New World. All was ready for weighing anchor but they took him aboard, the last for whom there was any room. A few other Jesuit

[2] Both cities are in Moravia, one of the two provinces that made up the old Kingdom of Bohemia. Olomouce (Olmutz) was noted for developing many vocations to the priesthood.

missionaries had to wait another year before their turn would come again. We are not told what happened to the baggage. There are only three letters extant in Bohemia which tell us of the activity of Brother Simon, leaving us thus with only a fragment of his whole story.

The first of these letters is dated March 6, 1686. It was sent to Father Emanuel de Boye, a Belgian Jesuit, whose family had moved to Prague and there gave three sons to the Society of Jesus. Father Emanuel had been rector of several different colleges in Bohemia and finally provincial. He too had volunteered for the Mexican mission but was refused because there was greater need of him at home. However, he kept up a constant correspondence with the Mexican missionaries and up to his death remained in close touch with every bit of news of the missions. This particular letter of Brother Simon Boruhradsky is kept in the court archives in Prague, in a section called "Jesuitica," and bound in a separate roll of letters under the number 419. These Jesuitica are remnants of the quondam Jesuit Archives of the old Bohemian Province of the Society of Jesus in Prague. The brother writes in Latin.

"Your letter from Prague dated October 7, 1685, came unexpectedly and with extraordinary speed, arriving here March 13, 1686. On that same day I received a letter from Father John Baptist Neumann to his brother Father Joseph Neumann.[3] I have only one regret and that is that the boat bound for the Philippines left here a few days ago. We have the opportunity of sending letters by that route only once a year. So I am writing to your reverence through Rome. I am sending you news of the martyrdom of some of our brothers in the Mariana Islands. There were five of them among whom was Father Augustine Strobach, born in Jihlava, in Moravia, who came here with me, then crossed Mexico and finally sailed to the Marianas. Another was Father Charles Boranga of Vienna.[4] I have no doubt that this news will excite new zeal for the overseas missions among us [Jesuits].

[3] These two brothers were Jesuit priests of the Bohemian Province of the Society of Jesus; Joseph, 1648–1732 the older, was born in Brussels, Aug. 5, 1648, John in Vienna; John was in the missions of Paraguay, Joseph arrived among the Tarahumara Indians in northwestern Mexico in 1681 with the Hungarian nobleman Johan Radkay. The Czech name of Neumann was Novak.

[4] The five Jesuits were slain by the natives in late July and August, 1684, on the Island of Guam, then called Tinian. Besides the Moravian Strobach and the Austrian Boranga, there were the Spaniard, Father Pedro de Solorzano, the Fleming, Father Baltasar Dubois, and the Italian, Father Teofilo Piccolomini; *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu,* Ratisbon, 1914, 649.

The news in your letter came as a heaven sent message. I will carry that news to the viceroy today. I am on very friendly terms with the viceroy. He is the brother of the Prince of Medina who used to be *hofmeister* at the court of the Spanish King, but now lives here as a private character. I am afraid I may have to go back with him to Spain as the companion to his Jesuit confessor. There is no news except what I have already mentioned about the martyrs in the Marianas. I have received no word lately from Father Joseph Neumann but I will take care that your letter gets to him promptly. It will be a great consolation for him in the deserts of the Tarahumara Indians. Really we live here in constant insecurity and uneasiness because all around us there are many pirates. The only defense against them will be the four warships which they are preparing in Spain among the people of Biscaya with the permission of the king. These Biscayans are a brave people and born sailors.

I send my cordial regards to your reverence and our Father Rector does the same. He wishes also to thank you for your care in keeping us posted with news from Europe.

I commend myself to your Holy Sacrifices;

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

Simon Boruhradsky—Here they call me *de Castro*

Mexico, March 16, 1686.

P.S. I also send sincere greetings to Father Matthew Tenner [Tanner] and congratulate him now that he can put in his book of Jesuit Martyrs of the Society of Jesus such venerable apostles, and one of them, our own countryman. I also greet his brother, Father John Tenner, Father Zimmermann and Brother George Vysoky.

II. Flood and Riot

The second letter of Brother Boruhradsky was written in Mexico City and addressed to one of the Jesuit priests in Bohemia, probably again Father Emanuel de Boye. It is kept in its original form in the State Archive in Brno,—Mss 557, Part VI, letter 51–52.

Reverend Father In Christ; P.C.:

It is two years now that I have not received a letter from you nor, in fact, from anybody in Bohemia. Here also there is nothing new because there has not been a single ship from Spain for over a year. But there will be a ship leaving from here very soon bound for Spain so I am writing a few lines now. Not so long ago Father

Neumann came here to Mexico City about some mission affairs. He was sent here to the viceroy by our Father Visitor. Having finished his errand he returned at once to his mission again.

I am kept constantly busy with all kinds of jobs for the viceroy. Hardly do I finish with one when another is assigned to me. This has been going on for the last six months. During these six months I have been out of the capital city in connection with a flood which was so great last year that it threatened to inundate Mexico City. The city as a matter of fact lies in the middle of a lake surrounded on all sides by mountains and the waters have only one outlet which is insufficient for such a mass of water. Seventeen rivers at least empty into this lake. Some of these rivers are quite large and very deep. It so happened that some of these rivers could not hold the tremendous volume of water, broke through all obstacles and rolled violently upon the city, flooding all the suburbs and causing great destruction on the homes and fields. The viceroy and his royal councillors, seeing the danger, appointed one of the high officials of the court to solve the problem. But this fellow consumed several months, spent about 4,000 gold pieces and accomplished nothing. In the desperate situation the viceroy summoned me, having first secured the permission of the king and charged me with the work of saving the city. With the help of God and the Blessed Virgin I finished the work in one month and saved the city from the deluge. I changed completely the direction of the waters by building a big canal for the river. This canal was built in such a way that it meandered around on its way to join the river towards which the flood waters always used to rush. I built strong dikes to keep the waters in the canal within bounds. This year the flood did not take even one lump of soil from me. I astonished all by spending only 662 gold pieces on the whole work.

Seeing the success of these two measures the neighboring country, especially that abutting on Mexico City and administered by the Marquis [Cortés] del Valle, I was asked by the viceroy in the name of the marquis whether the course of two other rivers could be changed, and whether I would do it. These two rivers were always a threat to the city of Cuoaca. The viceroy then asked Father Provincial to lend my services for the work a second time and then gave over the charge of the whole enterprise to me. I went to work at once and in five months finished it. I changed the course of one river by leading it three miles away from the city into another large lake. For before this the river flowed directly upon the city

and upon two monasteries nearby, and only beyond that point did it course towards Mexico City. The length of the new channel which I constructed measures 11,605 cubits. All the work cost only 1700 gold pieces, and again all were surprised at the low cost. Thank God, the work proved successful. Though before all these localities had suffered much from the floods, this year they were entirely secure from danger.

Just when I thought that I would have a respite from such jobs, a riot in Mexico City brought me another kind of concern.[5] The great flood of last year destroyed the crops completely in the whole neighborhood so that shortage of wheat began to be keenly felt. As soon as the viceroy got the money he ordered great supplies of wheat to be gathered from as far as 40 to 50 miles away and stored these supplies in the town granaries. But all this was scarcely sufficient for the big crowd of Indians and townsmen. The fact is that each week there was need of 7000 bushels of Turkish wheat (maize) which is the staple grain of the Indians. This importation of food went on from October 1691 to June of this year, 1692. Of course we had to cut down on the amount of bread to be eaten because the wheat rose to 12 gold pieces a bushel and the maize to 4 gold pieces. On June 7 there were only 300 bushels brought to the granaries. On account of the stampede of the crowds an infant was crushed to death while many had to go back home empty handed with no bread at all. To prevent confusion and disorder a member of the royal council was appointed to be present in the granary. A week later,—the Sunday after the Feast of Corpus Christi—the same official came to supervise the sale of the wheat. After all the wheat had been sold this official and the city magistrate went home. The Indians, seeing that there would be another shortage of grain, made their way to the palace of the archbishop, shouting for wheat uttering threats at the royal palace. When they got no satisfaction at the archi-episcopal palace, about fifty of the Indians returned to the town square and made a sudden attack upon the royal palace. They broke all the windows, doors and everything that rocks could reach. The military garrison and four servants of the viceroy made three attempts to get out of the palace and suppress the rioting but each time were met with such a rain of rocks that they had to move back into the palace. The effort was in vain because in about a quarter of an hour some 10,000 Indians had gath-

[5] On this riot see Chester Lyle Guthrie, "Riots in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City: A Study in Social and Economic Conditions," in *Greater America*, 243–258.

ered there. They were armed with torches, pitch and tallow besides their rocks. Seeing that the gates of the palace were closed they set fire to all five gates after they had set fire to the porch, frame windows and cornices. Since the palace had an arboured walk around, the rioters did not need to fear rifle shots from within. The wind fanned the fire so that in a little while the whole palace was in flames. Seeing how well they succeeded in their revenge, the Indians set fire to the jail, the pillory, the town hall and the granary, but they could not get inside the palace now on account of the fire. They therefore attacked the shops, which numbered about 170 in the public square, looted them first, and then set fire to them. There was confusion and more confusion. The townsmen and the Spaniards were afraid of a general revolt of the Indians and slaves. They therefore hid themselves in their homes waiting for what would happen next. The Indians seeing that they met with no opposition did as they pleased, looted more shops, set fire to them and carried away all the merchandise. Then they went home. By ten o'clock that night the public square was completely deserted.

The viceroy was not at home at the time. He was taking part, as was his usual custom, in the Corpus Christi procession in the monastery of St. Francis. There he got word about the riot. At first he wanted to leave for the city at once but the courtiers and the religious held him back, asking him not to expose his life to evident danger, since he did not know what was the nature of the riot nor whether it was only a riot or a revolt of the Indians and Spaniards. They argued with him that he could not face the rioters alone and unarmed, especially since he knew well that in a similar riot the Indians beat and killed their chief, Pedro. It would be more prudent to remain in the monastery and from there direct the welfare of the people. His wife also was away from the home at the time of the riot. She had gone later in the day to pray at the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Succour and then took a walk in the fields. As she was returning home she was stopped by two gentlemen on the highway leading directly to the public square. They persuaded her to turn back. She ran to the monastery of St. Francis and so just saved herself. For as soon as the Indians saw her with her three ladies in waiting, they at once made for them. The rest of the servants of the royal palace had remained at home apparently alone. But fortunately the Jesuit Father Alfonso de Quiros, the Father Confessor of the viceroy, was in his own apartments and as soon as he sensed the danger he led the thirteen women servants through the

garden to one of the neighboring houses within the garden walls. Then he caused a breach to be made in the garden wall, there was no exit elsewhere, and then led the women out into the open. They hurriedly made their way to the archi-episcopal palace. At dawn the leading townsmen gatherd in front of the monastery and safely brought the viceroy to the palace of Marquis de Valle [Cuernavaca] where he is residing even at present.

Now to come to my work. After about four or five days the fire was at last extinguished. The viceroy with the advice of the royal council assigned to me the task of demolishing the ruined walls because they were threatening to collapse. They gave me 3300 gold pieces for the work. I am busy at this phase of the work just now. But I have also drawn up two plans for the new structure though I managed to avoid the job of construction, only because there was too much jealousy in this country.[6] I am telling you this that it may be made clear to the brothers who are eager for this mission. They should be told that they will not do the work of the mission here but will do just what they are doing at home. Let them be convinced that they are doing more grateful work at home than they will find here.

The former viceroy, Marquis de la Laguna, was very eager that I accompany him back to Spain. I refused. But should I have the opportunity later to return I will not hesitate. As a matter of fact the present viceroy has asked for this at Rome already and I am waiting for a reply any day. If he gets this permission and I get to Europe safe and sound I will inform your reverence immediately. Meantime I recommend myself to you. Your reverence's servant and son in Christ

Simon de Castro of the Company of Jesus

P.S. Brother John Haller[7] of our Bohemian Province died on the Mariana Islands. News from the Philippine Islands came late this year because the [letters] were lost on the way for a long time.

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[6] As far as we know this is the first documentary evidence about the draftsman of the plans of the Palacio. Many have been thought of as the probable planners. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, San Francisco, 1883, III, 250, n. 34, citing Robles, *Diario*, says: "Work on the palace was begun about the middle of February [1693] under the direction of Fray Diego de Valverde, an Augustinian Friar," but nothing is said of the architect.

[7] A native of Hradce Kralove. He was a pharmacist who entered the Jesuit Order on September 9, 1681, as a lay brother and was sent first to Mexico and then in 1687 to the Marianas, where he died January 8, 1691.

That explains why I did not write any letters this year to our dear brethren because I had nothing to write about. Cordial regards to all.

III. Building the Palace

The third letter of Brother Boruhradsky from Mexico dated June 9, 1694 and addressed to some Jesuit Father in Brno, is kept in the State Archive in Brno, Mss 557, packet VI, letter 23–24.

Reverend Father in Christ; P. C.:

Your letter gave us great joy and consolation such as we have not had for a long time. It is a pity that so few ships come to us. It is now more than a year and a half since any ship has come to the Harbor of Vera Cruz from Spain. This is the usual way we get news. The other route across the Philippines and the Marianas brings no news from Europe. Through this latter route we did hear, however, a few bits of news of Europe but all of it was bad, bad from Hungary, bad from Belgium, bad from Germany, and we had only grief.

Here in Mexico the scourge of God is heavy upon us the past three years. Ever since the mutiny of the Indians a bushel of wheat costs 24 gold pieces and though we have three harvests a year both of wheat and maize, still the hopes of a good crop this year are small. It will hardly be sufficient. The seed is up already and we can see the same failure of crops as last year.

After the burning of the royal palace I was appointed to superintend the work of demolition but, though I managed to avoid the work of construction of the new palace, still the viceroy kept me to superintend the building, because the local builders understand very little about building a palace and about the arrangement of the various apartments.[8] All this has fallen to me. I have been staying at the palace for many years now and am living with the viceroy and his courtiers. I know well the defects of the old palace. Hence there is no plan made without my advice and coun-

[8] This new palace is the Palacio Nacional begun after the riot of June 8, 1692, by Viceroy Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, Conde de Galve, who was in office from 1688 to 1696. The area about the palace was beautified by Viceroy Juan Vicente Güemes Pacheco de Padilla, Conde de Revilla Gigedo, between 1789 and 1794. Some additions and modifications of the interior were made in 1820 and 1908. Needless to say, the palace has been the center of events in the history of New Spain and Mexico.

sel. Fortunately the construction of the new palace has progressed so far that three stories have already been built. It is an enormous building. The front of the building measures about 200 cubits [675 feet] and is almost entirely of asher [freestone]. There are 300 men at work at once, carpenters, blacksmiths, joiners, locksmiths, et al. The apartment of the viceroy will certainly be finished within the year. The rest of the structure will be completed gradually. So far the structure has cost according to the royal treasurer and experts, 95,000 gold pieces. But enough about this.

I am expecting a ship from Spain any day now, and the news it will bring about the successor of the present viceroy whose term of six years expires in December 1695. He is anxiously waiting for the hour when he can go back to Spain. He has secured permission from the Father General for a companion for his Jesuit confessor. I am afraid that the lot will fall to me though I have Father General's permission to go to the Mariana Islands. I will let you know what the final decision will be.

Disease has ravaged the missions and a great number of Indians have died. For instance in the parish of Father Joseph Neumann only a handful has remained alive. He had to move some five miles away and now has his parish on a huge rock in a charming valley. He built his house and church on this rock and it is entirely of asher. It has four towers and is suitable as a fortification against an attack of the pagans. For the enemies have so far caused great losses to new Christian converts as well as to Spaniards, as you can see from the inclosed account of Father Neumann. We are also awaiting a reply from Father Chino [Eusebio Kino] and Kapus [Fr. Marcos Kappus] in the matter of moving to California.[9] But all of us think it wiser to remain on the mainland than to sail to California, because we discover almost daily new tribes and very fertile lands. The Indians are very alert, live according to the natural law, are not idolaters and have well ordered settlements. This is the chief reason of Ours to stay on the mainland rather than move on the islands where they would encounter many dangers. Father Chino explored the country and fields up to some 400 miles and was everywhere received with great love by the Indians, but he has not so far reached the northern end of the mainland. From this it is evident how important the work is in these regions. So far nine new missionaries have been assigned to these regions. They will take up

[9] For the setting of these remarks on Kino see Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, 1936, 203–205, 227, 231–252.

their work as soon as the Father Visitor sends official notice to the viceroy and the royal council. It happens that the farthest mission will now be 700 miles from Mexico City.

There has not been a single ship from the Philippines in Mexico during the last three years. We have great fear that there is a war going on either with the Chinese or the Dutch. Some think that these islands have been afflicted with famine and epidemic as we here. It may be that there is also a shortage of food, perhaps even a decline in population, and these last make it impossible for any of them to come here. For the voyage from the Philippines to Mexico takes seven months. For this reason a boat has sailed from here to the islands carrying more soldiers and food, to find out why no ship has come from the islands to Mexico. If God grants that some ship does come here from the Philippines I will give full details of anything worth while.

I commend myself etc. Boruhradsky.

Mexico City June 6, 1694.

P.S. Brother John Steinefer wishes to be remembered to your reverence.[10]

This brief notice of the activities of the Bohemian lay brothers of the Society of Jesus can best be concluded with an extract from another Bohemian Jesuit's letter, Father Adam Kaller, S.J., who wrote in 1688 from Mexico City to Prague shortly after Brother Simon Boruhradsky arrived in Mexico:

Brother Simon Boruhradsky is the sacristan in our college; he is one of our brothers from Bohemia. When he arrived here he found an empty sacristy and an empty church but by his energy he soon collected a neat sum of several thousand gold pieces for the sacristy and church and is now begging for the good of the American missionaries. He has succeeded in getting everything the missionaries have asked of him. Lately Father General offered him the opportunity to become a priest but in his humility, he refused. Not the least respect is meted to our brothers who act as

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[10] Fr. Vrastil's note: "Brother John Steinefer was born in Jihlava, July 3, 1664, and became a Jesuit on September 27, 1684; he was sent to Mexico in 1692. As so many brothers of our Province, he soon found his forte as a pharmacist. He wrote a book on medicinal herbs which he called "Florilegio Medicinal." It was published in Mexico in 1712, in Amsterdam in 1712, in Madrid in 1729 and again in 1732, and later in Mexico in 1888 and 1889. He died in the mission of Sonora, April 2, 1716." Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* Brussels-Paris, 1896, VII, 1537, has two errors; first he gives the date of the brother's birth as March 7, 1664, and second, the date of his entrance as September 26, 1686.

pharmacists everywhere. Not rarely they have cured sick people whom the local physicians gave up. It is very difficult for the Spaniards to pronounce and even spell Brother's name. They have even spelt it "Poruhradiski." So Brother chose to call himself "de Castro" meaning "of the castle."

These are the only letters that have been uncovered so far from Brother Simon. From other sources we know that he did not return to Europe but sailed, as he wished to do, for the Marianas. However, he caught the epidemic on board the Filipino ship and died on April 6, 1697. This last bit of information concerning Brother Simon comes from the letter of Father Emanuel de Boye sketching the life of another Jesuit from Moravia working in the missions, Father Henry Wenceslaus Richter, martyred in Peru in November, 1696.

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Documents: Marquette's Ordination

Last year there were some misgivings about the ordination to the priesthood of Father Jacques Marquette. Although he had been called Father or Père for two hundred and eighty years by hundreds of writers, Marquette, it seemed to one writer, had never been elevated to the priesthood of the Catholic Church because no official record of his holy orders has ever been produced.

We are now publishing photostats of the official record of the ordination and sacerdotal rank of Marquette. The original manuscript folios from which photostats were taken are in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus. The exact reference is: Serie Campania, Vol. II, folio 278 *recto* and folio 282 *recto*. The scholar to whom we are indebted for finding these records and for sending the copies is Father Edmond Lamalle, S.J., Editor of *Archivum Historium Societatis Iesu* and one of the staff of editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu,* whose knowledge of the documentary materials for Jesuit history in the archives of Rome and Europe is superb.

The demand for these official records began last year. Its history is as follows. Reverend Joseph Carlton Short wrote an article which appeared in the January *La Revue de l'Université Laval,* Quebec, under the title: "Jacques Marquette, S.J., catechist." To many this caption was as erroneous as it was irritating. Under the caption the attack on Marquette was startling. It burst upon the historical world without preface or warning in other magazines and seemingly had no motive. On inquiry it was revealed that Father Short has been diligent in his efforts to establish Allouez and other Jesuit missionaries as the real heroes of the Upper Mississippi evangelization. To do so it seems that he wished first to disqualify Marquette. Without knowing of these motives correspondents wrote to various editors to do something about the uncalled-for assault.

Three articles revealing the inadequacy of Father Short's reasoning and research were soon published,[1] and several letters and com-

[1] Paul Desjardins, S.J., "Jacques Marquette, S.J., était-il prêtre," *La Revue de l'Université Laval,* Vol. III, No. 7, 634–639, and Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., "Father Jacques Marquette, S.J., Priest," *Ibid.,* 640–642, whereafter the editor closed the pages to this "interesting discussion," and Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Attempted Mayhem on Père Marquette," MID-AMERICA, XXXI (April, 1949), 109–116.

ments of a far less gentle nature did not appear. Meanwhile, Father Jean Delanglez, research professor of the Institute of Jesuit History, Loyola University, Chicago, had written to Father Lamalle for documentary information on the point. Lamalle, like everybody else, was surprised at the attempted demotion of Marquette. It had never occurred to him, as it had not to numerous other historians including the late Gilbert J. Garraghan, to question the priesthood of Marquette. They had all accepted the *fact* of the ordination *from the official record of Marquette's last vows.* There was no surmise about the fact, but Garraghan did surmise about the exact date and month, in 1666, and really surmised very well.

Since a facsimile from the manuscript of Marquette's last vows written and signed by him had already been published, (MID-AMERICA, January, 1936, 23), Lamalle searched for the record of the date in the official catalogues and found it. Apparently there was not much difficulty, because in the fifteen years elapsed from the time Garraghan last looked, Lamalle has gathered many manuscripts and catalogues from European depositories. He sent the photostats to Father Delanglez. His accompanying letter arrived in time to allow the present writer to append a note to his article giving the date of the ordination and mentioning the coming photostats. If these arrived Delanglez apparently sent them somewhere, either for publication or as proofs, and then was fatally stricken. After his death his correspondence gave no inkling as to where the first set of photostats had gone. We then asked Father Lamalle for another set, which arrived too late for publication in the October number of this quarterly.

Father Lamalle has some interesting information in his letter accompanying these materials. He says that the date of the ordination of Jesuit fathers is not ordinarily preserved in the general archives at Rome. It is preserved in the provincial or college archives of each province along with documents relating to and necessary for ordination. Each province keeps a catalogue of its ordinations. But the date of the *last vows* of the individual Jesuit *is* regularly recorded and kept at Rome, because both the kind of vows taken and the seniority of the *vovens* are matters of consequence to the general administrators of the Society. Therefore, when the record of the last vows is sent to the Roman headquarters, it *includes* the *fact of ordination* and the fact that the one who pronounced them is *already* a duly ordained priest (or lay brother if he is not a priest).

To make the point abundantly clear we may follow the official

procedure. First, the provincial (or vice-provincial or mission superior) addressed a letter to the Jesuit General in Rome, stating that the time for the final vows, the final admission to the Society of Father X was at hand and that he was hereby recommended to be allowed to take the said vows. The power so to admit members to the vows and finally resides with the General. The General, after consideration of the detailed character recommendation, formally notified the provincial that Father X was to make his final vows, specifying that they were to be the vows of a priest, a professed priest of four solemn vows or a spiritual coadjutor priest of three solemn vows. Once these were taken the official record of the fact (either the signed vows or the provincial's formal notification) was sent to the General, and likewise recorded in the province catalogue. In view of all this, no Jesuit, official or otherwise, will question the fact of Marquette's priesthood from these records. In the case of the priests one will always find before each name the "P." for Pater, and in the case of the lay brothers the "Coad." for Coadjutor before or after the name. The former take their final, solemn vows seventeen years after entrance into the Society, while the latter must wait ten years after entrance. Thus, Marquette was admitted to the Society on October 8, 1654, and made his final vows July 2, 1671. Thus it is also with the canonized martyrs of New France, for if the dates of their *ordinations* are wanted they cannot be found in the Roman Archives.

With respect to Garraghan's oversight of these documents, Lamalle has this to say: "Therefore, when Fr. Garraghan did not give the date of Marquette's ordination in his article "Some Newly Discovered Marquette Documents," the priesthood of Marquette was beyond any doubt in his mind, for the *fact of his last vows* was quite sufficient proof, and I [as Editor] did not think it necessary to write to the archivist (the archives were not then in Rome) to ask for any proof of his ordination."

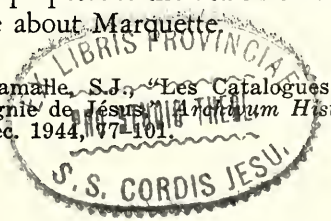
After his years in quest of Jesuit materials scattered over Europe Father Lamalle is able to make some general observations. He has found that at the time of the confiscations of Jesuit properties by the French government between 1763 and 1773, the government agents ordinarily destroyed all of the papers pertaining to the religious affairs and religious control as useless. They threw aside without destroying all papers relating to the temporal affairs of the houses and colleges, such as deeds and account ledgers. In France he found thousands of documents of the latter type or *temporalia,* but only

several examples of registers of houses and lists of admissions, first vows, ordinations, dismissals, etc., which each of the rectors was obliged to keep. It is little wonder then that Garraghan and earlier historians supposed that the documents necessary for the ordination of Marquette and the list giving the date were destroyed as useless religious data.

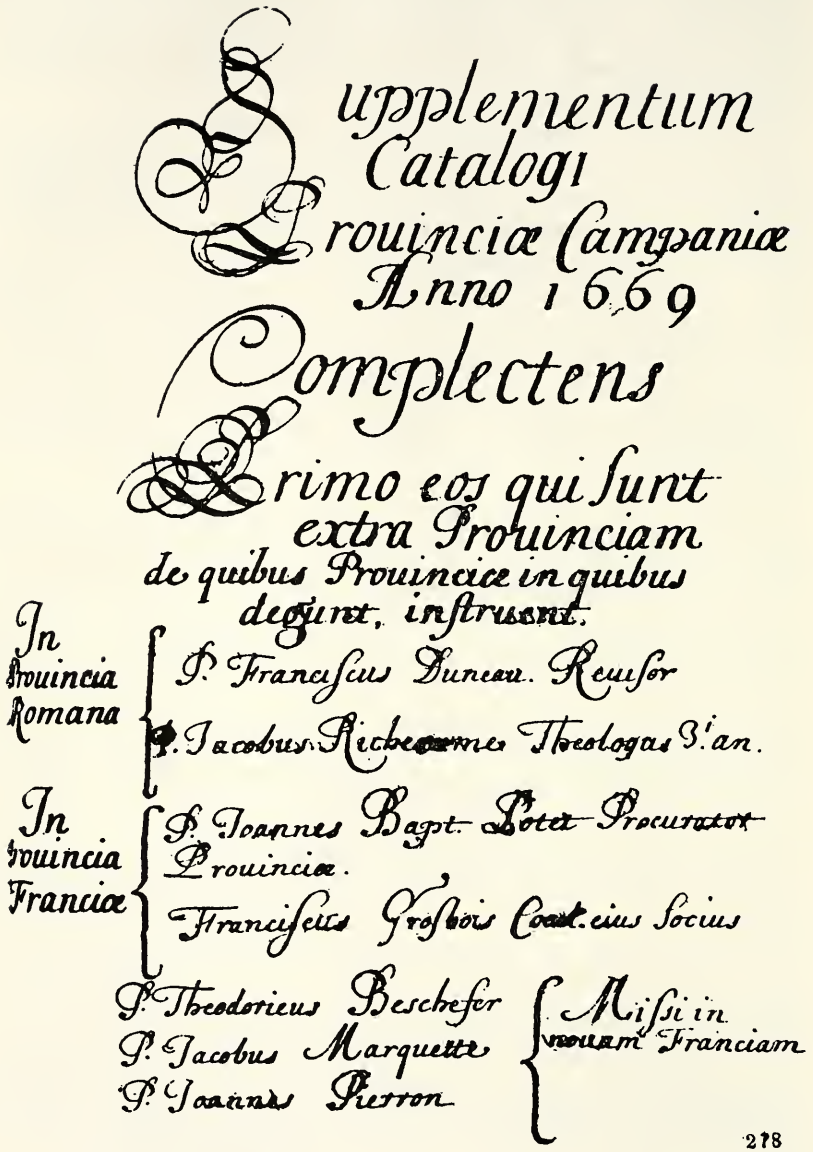
Each of the Jesuit provinces was and is obliged to keep annual catalogues.[2] In certain provinces of Marquette's time a triennial catalogue was drawn up. Some of these catalogues, Father Lamalle says, the triennials especially, have supplements, irregularly kept, giving such lists as: admissions to the novitiate, dismissals, transfers to other provinces, first vows, last vows, and ordinations. This is the case as regards the German provinces and the Belgian province. It is precisely the case for the Province of Champagne to which Marquette belonged. It is in the Supplement to the Triennial Catalogue of 1669 where one finds the official proof of the presence of Father Marquette in New France and his ordination to the priesthood in 1666.

The form indicated in the photostats follows the customary usage. The translation is: "Supplement of the Catalogue of the Province of Champagne for the Year 1669, Including: First those who are outside the Province, concerning whom the Provinces in which they live will instruct you." Then follow the names of the two fathers from Champagne who were in the Roman Province, the two in the French Province, a father and a coadjutor, and the three fathers sent to New France, including Pater Jacobus Marquette. The second, third, fourth, and fifth lists in the catalogue are omitted. "Sixth, Priests initiated: Father Nicholas Bardin, at Toul, 24 January. Father James Marquette, at Toul, 7 March."

What with the positive evidence produced in a preceding article, the presence of the official manuscript record in the Roman archives, and these photostat copies, it should be clear that Marquette was a priest. The fact has always been accepted. But, since human nature is what it is, we are realistic enough to suppose that someone is now likely to doubt the authenticity of these documents. This would be to accuse Father Lamalle, a renowned scholar, editor, bibliographer, and archivist, of forgery, and thus to perpetuate the attack on Marquette and on any and all who write about Marquette.



[2] On the catalogues see Edmond Lamalle, S.J., "Les Catalogues des Provinces et des Domiciles de la Compagnie de Jésus," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Rome, XIII, Jan.-Dec. 1944, 177-101.


Supplementum
Catalogi
Provinciæ Campaniæ
Anno 1669
Complectens
Primo eos qui sunt
extra Provinciam
de quibus Provincia in quibus
degunt, instruens.

In Provincia Romana
P. Franciscus Duneau. Rector
P. Jacobus Richeome Theologus S.ti an.

In Provincia Franciæ
P. Joannes Bapt. Lotet Procurator Provinciæ.
Franciscus Grossois Coad. eius Socius

P. Theodorius Beschefer
P. Jacobus Marquette
P. Joannes Pierron
Missi in novam Franciam

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Sexto Sacerdotes initiatos

1666 P. Nicolaus Bardin. Tulli 24. Jan.
P. Jacobus Marquette Tulli 7. Mar.

1666 P. Joannes Hardy
P. Remigius Poton
P. Nicolaus Domballe } Tulli 21 Sept
P. Godefridus Thiery
P. Nicolaus Audry

1667 P. Nicasius Rolland Tulli, 13. Martij
P. Renat.⁹ le Seur
P. Claudius Nicolas } Remis, 28° Augusti.
P. Claudius Faultrier
P. Petrus Josephus Aimé, Tulli 9 Jan.
P. Nicolaus Coquot } Tulli 18 Oct.
P. Carol. Ant. Badoux

P. Franc. Vignolles Bruntrut 25 Sept.
P. Desiderius de Chabut

1668 P. Alexander Le Blanc } Tulli 9 Apr.
P. Jacobus David
P. Joannes Robin. Tulli 14 Octobr.
P. Joannes Bordois. Tulli 30 Dec.
P. Nicolaus Jacquemin } Remis, 30.° Decbris.
P. Edmundus Courcier

1669 P. Theodoricus Thuret, Vitriaci, 6° aprilis.

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Nor is it beyond comprehension to realize that some scrupulous soul may devise a worry to the effect that, because Marquette had less than a year of theological study, his ordination may have been invalid or illicit or both. Your real fretter will want to know who the bishop was, did he have faculties from Rome for the ceremony, when and where did he get them, where are the documents, are *they* authentic, did he have the necessary intention of performing the rite, where are the records of Marquette's baptism and confirmation, where is the document for his early ordination, is it authentic, who gave it, did the giver have the faculties to dispense, where are the documents to prove these authentic, was the canon on the *interstites* observed—and many other questions of a speculative nature. The answers might prove mildly interesting to some, but the process of completely satisfying mentalities capable of asking such questions would involve the historian in proving by documents everything from the Apostolic Succession to the fact that Marquette was not an apolpectic nor murderer. If any materials on these minute details come to light they will probably be referred to in some obscure footnote.

For all practical purposes, from the fact of Marquette's ordination and his actions as a priest, we must admit that he and all concerned had no doubt about the validity of his holy orders, despite the lack of formal courses in moral and dogmatic theology. We cannot apply the canon law of today to the men of the seventeenth century. If Marquette was dispensed from formal studies in Europe, we may not conclude that he did not finish his studies. It was quite customary to ordain Jesuits early in view of an early departure for the missions, but each had the obligation to continue his studies *privately* while waiting embarkation, during his voyage, and thereafter, and in all the missions the superiors were bound to continue instructions at least in the form of the cases of conscience.

To students of missionary history the practice followed in Marquette's case was so ordinary that it gets practically no comment. Sometimes men, destined for missions where they were so greatly needed, only commenced their studies.[3] Sometimes they were or-

[3] On the practice of conferring holy orders on missionaries one can get much by paging through the article "Jésuites Wallons, Flamands, Français Missionaires au Paraguay, 1608–1767," by Fathers Pierre Delattre, S.J., of Enghien and Edmond Lamalle, in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, XVI Jan.-Dec. 1947, 98–176. The article indicates how non-

dained after two or three months of study. Sometimes they were sent before ordination, as in the case of the famed Anchieta in Brazil and many others, and on their arrival in the Americas were presented to a local bishop for holy orders when the superiors deemed them sufficiently trained. Actually, among the first Jesuits to arrive in North America we find even novices, who were to get their training in the mission scene from missionaries and were later to be sent to some such center as Mexico City, Lima, Santiago or Córdoba for shortened courses in theology. Likewise, young men, even Indians, were received into probation by missionaries and given a training preparatory to a missionary life. The student Jesuits sent to the Americas continued their studies in the Jesuit centers of education and their courses were shorter or longer, depending upon their future work in the missions or in the classrooms.

There was no need for Marquette or his provincial to apply to Rome in the seventeenth century for any dispensation from theological studies, since the legislation and practice in this regard were far from the standard forms for the clergy of today. Surely, the savages, among whom Marquette was deliberately going to spend the remainder of his life, could be expected to know little and probably care less about theological niceties. He had the grace of a missionary vocation, which is distinctly different from that of a teaching vocation, a preaching vocation or any other call, and this fact of a special call was precisely what he was trying to impress upon his superiors when he indicated to them that he "had little relish for speculative sciences." These he did not disdain, but rather considered not for himself. Once such a call was clear to superiors in his case, as in many others, the hindrance of the regular course was removed, and, it seems, directly by the provincial who had the authority to dispose of his men as his judgment and counsel dictated, without reference to the local bishop. It generally took some time

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Spanish Jesuits were permitted to become missionaries in Spanish colonies and it is followed by fifty biographical sketches of men from the low countries who went to Paraguay. Of these, thirteen were lay brothers. Checking through the list I find that at least six of the others were ordained with less than three years of theological studies and others were not ordained until they had completed some studies at Córdoba in the present Argentina. Apparently, many rules were suspended in their regard, some taking last vows after fourteen years, some after twenty, some having one year novitiate, or one year philosophy, etc. A study covering a wider number of missionaries and a wider area than Paraguay on the preparation and training of missionaries would prove interesting.

to test missionary vocations and to prove the solidity of the man and his call. Certainly, not all of the Jesuits who volunteered for the foreign missions, got to them, and certainly very few of those who did go, ever asked to return to Europe.

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Book Reviews

Managers in Distress: The St. Louis Stage, 1840–1844. By William G. B. Carson. St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, St. Louis, Missouri, 1949, xi, 329. Appendix, Index, illustrations. $6.00.

In recent years a number of local studies dealing with the early theatre in the West have appeared and there is apparently a growing interest in the subject. Well known for his earlier volume, *The Theatre on the Frontier,* published in 1932, concerning the first twenty-five years of the St. Louis stage, Professor Carson's new book continues the account through the year 1844. Covering a five year period, the study is organized chronologically. There are nine chapters and an epilogue. Using a large amount of manuscript material, as well as local newspapers, the author traces each theatrical season carefully, giving detailed accounts of the various plays, the traveling companies, as well as individual players. A good deal of attention is devoted to the quarrel between the well known actor-manager Sol. Smith and Noah M. Ludlow, who were partners in the South and West for many years. While the account concentrates on St. Louis, the writer brings in much information and interpretation regarding the early western theatre in general. The author not only describes what occurred on the St. Louis stage more than a century ago, but also explains "how it happened, and why it happened in the ways it did." He also brings out the sometimes overlooked point, that the theatre is the creation of the "men and women on both sides of the footlights."

The epilogue presents an analysis and appraisal of the writer's findings which sum up the characteristics of the early western theatre in an able manner. At that time St. Louis was the theatrical capital of the upper Mississippi Valley. It was a period of hard times, and everything possible was done to attract audiences. All types of programs were presented. Four hundred and twenty-five different pieces were performed during the period, two hundred of which had been presented in previous years. The star system was in operation, with notable players often receiving a large part of the nightly receipts. Rehearsals were inadequate and lines were often poorly mastered. The appendix gives a record of the individual plays offered during the five year period, as well as a financial statement of the income of Ludlow and Smith for the spring and fall seasons of 1844. Using diaries, letters and the return books of Ludlow and Smith, as well as other source material in possession of the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, and materials in the Harvard Theatre Collection, Professor Carson has produced a well written, well documented book that constitutes a worthwhile contribution in the field of the western theatre.

The work has certain limitations. Although the author makes use of much manuscript material, he presents little that is new regarding the quarrel between Smith and Ludlow. The facts and details of their difficulties have already been fairly well established. There is nothing especially unique about quarrels of that sort as the student of early western theatrical history is im-

pressed by the amount of friction and feud that so frequently prevailed among western managers and traveling theatrical troupes. On the frontier most theatrical companies were usually in distress financially, although some troupes prospered at times. Constant use of the personal pronoun "I" mars the work for the reader. These criticisms, however, are minor matters as the writer has doubtless accomplished what he set out to do. The book is well printed and bound, and contains fifteen well chosen illustrations.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS

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Farthest Frontier, The Pacific Northwest. By Sidney Warren. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 375. $4.50.

This recent addition to the growing bibliography of Pacific Northwest Americana is a history of the "beginnings of *American* settlement and the development of *American* society in the Northwest." Dr. Warren has attempted for one segment of United States history what C. P. Nettels did for the national scene a decade ago in his *Roots of American Civilization.* To remark that *Farthest Frontier* comes off second best is no condemnation but merely a statement that the same mastery of a chosen topic is not apparent in the book. The author has, however, taken full advantage of the work done by others. He has vitalized the information in monographs, unpublished theses, and periodical articles with results inescapably beneficial to the subject and the reader.

The *Farthest Frontier* is the story of the people of the Northwest—their social attitudes, their amusements, their intellectual pursuits, their cultural development. A few chapters, such as those concerning the fur trade, the Oregon Trail, and frontier lawlessness offer very little that is new. With these exceptions, Warren gives us the only history of the origin and growth of American culture and civilization in the Northwest. He will surprise some with the sections on art, literature, and education, while chapters concerning politics, journalism, medicine, the theatre, settlement, and unsuccessful utopias supply the human side of a story often told before in plain chronological sequence.

It is inevitable in a history of institutions, attitudes, and similar difficult-to-grasp phenomena that questions arise over the emphasis placed upon certain elements in the narrative or omission of other factors by the writer. It is an historical fact that Protestant missionaries were the first numerically strong religious influence in the Northwest. These courageous men and women were responsible for the beginnings of a non-Catholic tradition that marks the region to this day. Catholic missionaries, nevertheless, Catholic missions, schools, linguistic work, and publications deserve more than a slight reference to Francis Norbert Blanchet, Modeste Demers, and Peter DeSmet, S.J. Ordinary good history and an understanding of the area require that the Catholic aspect of the Pacific Northwest receive elaboration at least equal to the full-length chapter "Of Vice and Virtue."

Another example of a questionable omission has to do with the Indian wars that raged in the Northwest at different times over a period of thirty years, 1847–1877. To ignore the military phases of these hostilities is perfectly legitimate, but to pass over the social, political, economic, and religious consequences of the strife is to miss something of great importance for an understanding of how the farthest frontiersman came to be what he was and is.

These remarks indicate why this reviewer considers the *Farthest Frontier* done well enough to discourage others from essaying a similar book in the near future; while its deficiencies remain to challenge the gifted pen of some later scholar.

WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF, S.J.

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Prairie Schooner Detours. By Irene D. Paden. The Macmillan Company, *New York,* 1949. Pp. ix, 295. $3.75.

This excellent work is a history of the Hastings' and of the Lassen's Cutoffs of the Oregon-California Trail. It is based on diaries and journals of a century ago and upon the extensive field work of the authoress who followed every foot of the trails about which she writes. It is a continuation of her previous work, *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner.* The need for special book on the two short cuts is clear from their importance to emigrants and gold seekers in 1849 and 1850, who in their hurry sought trails "rumored to be shorter or easier or more prolific of grass."

The book is divided into two parts of almost equal length. The first part is the story of the Hastings' Cutoff. Leaving the California Trail at Fort Bridger, Wyoming, this trail crossed the Wasatch Range at Pratt's Pass, skirted the south of Salt Lake and went through the Great Salt Lake Desert to Pilot Peak in the Pilot Range on the Nevada-Utah line. Next, it crossed the Toana, Pequop, and Spring Ranges and skirted the Ruby Range via Overland Pass. Northwestward it went to the South Fork of the Humbolt River and passed via the canyon to the main stream. Fording the Humbolt at Elko, Nevada, it rejoined the California Trail, some 250 miles from Salt Lake City. Of this part there are two criticisms. On pages 18 and 19 Mrs. Paden refers twice to the Little Muddy, while the map on page 3 correctly shows this stream to the north of the crossing of Big Muddy, on the route of the Hastings' Cutoff. The Little Muddy was forded several times on the regular Oregon-California Trail. And, while the alternate routes of the Harlan-Young party down the Weber River of the Donner-Reed party down Henefer (or Little East Canyon) Creek are ably and interestingly described, the map on page 3 fails one miserably. Not only is it very difficult to follow the route into Salt Lake City,, but the running commentary, so enlivening in other parts of the book, becomes distracting for want of topographical information. A map for the Wasatch Mountains alone would have been a great aid; the distance between the two principal maps, pages 3 and 144, makes the reading trying to the critical reader. Moreover, it may discourage general readers and thus defeat

one of the chief aims of the authoress, that is, to bring Americans to study and to follow the trails of our pioneers. Upward of twenty-five places of interest mentioned in the text are not located on the maps. And did the Padens (page 50) leave Salt Lake City via North Temple Street or via 21st Street South?

Some 160 miles west of the end of the Hastings' Cutoff and a few miles north of present Rye Patch Dam, Lassen's Cutoff broke away from the regular California Trail westward toward the Antelope Range. The second part of the book is a history of this route. Although first traveled in 1846 by the Applegates, who sought a safer way into the Willamette Valley than the usual route from Fort Hall, Idaho, to the Columbia River, and by Lassen in 1848, this trail appealed to California emigrants also, because of reports of the frightful difficulties on the main trail across Humbolt Sink some fifty miles to the south. Leaving the California Trail the route lay past the famous Rabbit Hole Springs, scaled Warner Range in extreme northeastern California by Lassen's (now Fandango) Pass, passed Goose Lake, and reached Davis Creek. Here Applegate Trail continued westward, while Lassen's bent south following the Pitt River to Bognuda Ranch. Through forested country it reached the headwaters of the North Fork of Feather River at present Lake Almanor, then west to the headwaters of Deer Creek, then southwest to Lassen's Rancho at the confluence of Deer Creek and the Sacramento River. Beyond this the regular trail was followed to Sacramento.

In this part as in the preceding Mrs. Paden locates and describes innumerable places and detours, as they were according to the source materials and as they are. The authoress experienced the exultation of having traveled over every segment of the very difficult terrain of the trails and she gratefully acknowledges the great help received from out-of-the-way settlers. Besides the three maps and the pen sketches, there is an adequate index and a selected bibliography. A mistake occurs on page 282, where "Mrs. Willis Compton" should read Mrs. Wilson Compton. Those seeking the inspiration of western pioneer history and those wishing to enjoy more richly a travel vacation will find no better inspiration and guide than *Prairie Schooner Detours.*

W. L. Davis

Gonzaga University, Spokane

East Florida, 1783–1785. A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated by Joseph Byrne Lockey, Edited by John Walton Caughey. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949. Pp. xxiv, 764. Paper bound, $7.50.

Nearly a score of years ago Professor Lockey envisioned a shelf of volumes containing documents pertaining to the history of his native Florida. He gathered his materials from the archives of Spain, Cuba, Georgia, Florida, Library of Congress, and London, and then assembled the file for translation. The present was to be the first of possibly twenty volumes, reaching 1821. When the translations were finished and the introduction of thirty-eight pages was written Professor Lockey's life ended in September, 1946. His

confrere, Professor Caughey, has now fulfilled his promise to aid in the task of proofreading and editing.

Everything to be said about the publication is on the good side. The Introduction sets the documents and East Florida in their proper historical niche: The American Revolution, Spain's treaty with England for the recovery of Florida, the ceremonies of the transfer, and the evacuation of the British. The documents are thus important for studies in diplomacy and international relations. The index which is servicible rather than exhaustive, has only 170 items in six pages, but many of these give complete documentary coverage of a topic with cross references. These topics in the index point to the chief values of the volume and make us hope that the succeeding volumes will one day appear. Examples are: the Banditti, and what was done about them; Commerce and Finance in the colony; Indian policy, of Spain and of England; Land titles; the Loyalists; Negroes: traffic in; Population; Religion; Tonyn, Patrick, the British governor, and Zéspedes, Vicente Manuel de, the Spanish governor. And there are interesting things about the Irishmen like Juan O'Donovan, Guillermo O'Kelly, Eduardo Nugent, and possibly "the famous James McGritt."

The book should be in every library with research facilities for the history of the South, of international relations, of Spain, and especially of Florida. It is a fine contribution and a worthy addition to any shelf.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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Free Government in the Making. By Alpheus Thomas Mason. Oxford University Press, New York, 1949. Pp. 846. $6.00.

This volume of selected readings in American political thought is an effort to bring before students the whole panorama of the ferment, the birth, and development of democratic ideals in the formation of the Government of the United States. To some the title might be misleading. Critics of modern governmental practices would call it "authoritarian government in the making," taking exception to the use of the word "free." The chronological selection and treatment of the readings is rather designed by the author to lead to an entirely different conclusion, for the final chapter ends on a very hopeful note—the vindicatio of free government.

The student begins his study of the growth of American democracy with the debates of the Putney Project and thence goes into the political and philosophical writings of leaders of the English Revolution, like Locke and Harrington, as well as Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws.* It could be suggested that the study should have reached deeper to include the pagan and Judo-Christian backgrounds of democracy, but this would expand the book to an unusual length. In default of an index, the student is guided by a detailed table of contents, giving author and source of the reading, and a succinct heading that states the essense of the excerpted reading. There may be quarrel about the readings selected, but there will be more quarrel about those omitted. The editor explains the omissions of important ma-

terials as necessary for space reasons and because of a desire to present what appeared to him to be the main stream of political thought and action. With the student always in mind the editor aims to sharpen his perspective and develop a sense of historical continuity and persisting patterns of conflict so as to enable him to see politics as an "endless adventure" and not as reaching its ultimate goal in some such static form as that contemplated in Marxist economic philosophy. The objective is to demonstrate that our democratic form of government is the "finding of proximate solutions for insoluble problems."

The particular excellence of the work lies in the fact that it is a chronological presentation of the underlying ideals and philosophy of the great personalities who have shaped, influenced, and fashioned our government. It is a sort of philosophical treatment of American history, unfolding the progress from the final achievement of political democracy to the tussle over economic equality in a mechanistic and materialistic age. The selections demonstrate the philosophical basis for and departure from individualist and *laissez faire* doctrines to governmental regulations for the protection of economic freedoms while safeguarding constitutional landmarks established by Marshall, Taney, Waite and others against assault upon property without due process of law.

Able and scholarly critiques heading each chapter and each reading are at once an analysis of the reading and a synthesis of the influences exercised by the authors and their works either toward frustration or accomplishment of the ideals and aims of democratic government. There are many values to the book. For constitutional history its contents furnish a philosophical approach to the development of juridical concepts. It has meaning for the student of the Supreme Court. The special emphasis on the underlying philosophies will prove stimulating to the historians. The selections are not for the immature or the unwary and the work will require careful treatment in the classrooms.

JOHN A. ZVETINA

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Notes and Comments

The Constitutional World of Mr. Justice Frankfurter is a collection of some representative opinions of the Justice selected and edited by Samuel J. Konefsky and published by The Macmillan Company in late 1949. This, like the editor's preceding work, *Chief Justice Stone and the Supreme Court,* is a valuable collection of the judgments of Mr. Frankfurter presented as he gave them and as Mr. Konefsky clarifies them in less technical terms. By choosing carefully the decisive portion of each opinion and by grouping these under one heading the editor is able to give Frankfurter's complete and continuous thought on each of six major points of interest to this nation. These are in Chapter I, the limits of judicial power, as Frankfurter described them in three cases; in Chapter II, seven decisions are used to illustrate his mind in the matter of Government and Economic Interests, or better, in the matter of Government, Capital, and Labor; in Chapter III, eight cases reveal the Problems of Federalism, chiefly those arising out of our dual system, or State and Federal activities in conflict on the issues of commerce, labor, taxation, and divorce; In Chapter IV, eight cases on civil liberties bring out the Justice's stand on Freedom and Democracy, and the highly significant decisions on minority rights, freedom of speech and picketing and bargaining and public schools; in Chapter five, eight cases revolve around criminal and administrative justice; and in the last Chapter, in nine cases, Bureaucracy and Judicial Control are brought into focus, and so too are many of the preceding opinions. In all, the printing and editing are excellent. In his Introduction, Professor Konefsky indicates how controversial a figure his subject has been, and he does this by citing the editorials in six of the important newspapers and journals. The book will prove a very good addition to your library.

* * * *

The Chopin Centennial National Committee, sponsored by the Kosciuszko Foundation, presented a tribute for the centennial of the death of Chopin, October 17, 1949. This is the volume *Frederic Chopin, 1810–1849,* edited by Stephen P. Mizwa and published by The Macmillan Company. The book is beautifully designed. It

contains ten articles, including a list of the works of Chopin, and thirty-six illustrations, one a fine, four color frontispiece of the composer. The singular contribution in the group of essays evaluating his work is the publication for the first time of his comments on music and musicians.

* * * *

The Inside Story of an Outsider, by Franz Schoenberner, (The Macmillan Company, 1949), continues the memoirs of the author, published in 1946 as *Confessions of a European Intellectual.* Dr. Schoenberner told in his earlier volume of his life as a liberal editor and publisher until the advent of the Nazi power in 1933. In the present volume he brings us up to date on his travels, travails, and philosophy. There is scarcely an important event, philosopher, writer, or manner of life that does not come in for some comment, whether it be the collapse of Italy, the philosophy of Diogenes, the importance of Pegler, or the state of Indian missions in our west. It is difficult to discover purpose in the work. The author disclaims (p. 266) any creative urge and adds: "Writing is for me a rather toilsome way of establishing a personal relationship based upon mutual respect and confidence between author and reader."

* * * *

Presidents North Carolina Gave the Nation is a handsomely fashioned brochure containing the addresses and papers presented in connection with the unveiling of a monument at Raleigh on October 19, 1948. The monument on Capitol Square is cast in bronze from the sculpture of Charles Keck, who is notable for his work on historical characters. His artistry depicts Andrew Jackson on horse and James K. Polk and Andrew Johnson seated. The main address of the day was that of President Harry S. Truman. Josephus Daniels was chairman of the commission which carried out the project.

* * * *

A very useful book, long out of print, has once more been made available. This is *Expansionists of 1812,* by Julius W. Pratt, first published by Macmillan in 1925, and now republished with the permission of the copyright holders by Perter Smith, Publisher, 321

Fifth Avenue, New York. The reprint is well worth the three dollars and a quarter asked by the new publisher.

* * * *

"Jean Delanglez, S.J., (1896–1949)," by Guy Frégault, is a tribute of a scholar to his former professor, appearing in the September, 1949, *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française.* Dr. Frégault presents a fine appreciation of the life and scholarly productions of Father Delanglez. This was the leading article in the *Revue.* In the last pages of this number is an announcement of the coming publication in French of Father Delanglez's *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet 1645–1700* (Institute of Jesuit History, Loyola University, Chicago.) The French translation according to the notice is to be made by Guy Frégault, and the edition is sponsored by l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, now flourishing at the University of Montreal. However, after the publication of the above notice, we were informed by Canon Lionel Groulx, Director of l'Institut, of the illness of Dr. Frégault which might delay the French edition.

* * * *

A service of great value is "A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations Concerning the Pacific Northwest and Alaska," arranged by Erik Bromberg and published in the July, 1949, *Pacific Northwest Quarterly.* The bibliography covers all disciplines. The listings are from sixteen universities and colleges, and they are followed by a subject index.

* * * *

The Editors of *The William and Mary Quarterly* sadly announce that they must raise the price of the annual subscription to four dollars. Just so they did not decide to discontinue this fine magazine we are quite satisfied. But the move does bring up the question of financing learned quarterlies during these times of inflation. Few of the historical periodicals have raised their tuition, with the result that the drains upon sponsors are becoming unbearably heavy. The prices of paper, printing, typesetting, binding and distribution have gone up out of all proportion to their former cost. Foreign subscribers are badly hit because of the new exchange rates. Even the Post Office has added a burden of cost to the publisher's or pur-

chaser's account by the new book rate and by the rule (to say nothing of other time-consuming regulations) that the fourth class and book rate parcels must now be carried to a post office by the sender rather than by the carrier. The prospect of facilitating the spread of knowledge is becoming more vague.

* * * *

"Imperial Mexico and Texas, 1821–1823," by Joseph Carl McElhannon, is a capably written and illuminating article appearing in the October number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly.* It describes the conditions and problems in Texas after Iturbide gained independence for Mexico from Spain and while he was emperor. The last pages are devoted to the colonizing efforts of Stephen F. Austin, who had tendered his services, his loyalty, and his fidelity to the Constitutional Emperor of Mexico, making himself a citizen of the Empire and renouncing his allegiance to the United States. The writer notes that Texas can now be said to have been under seven flags rather than the six commonly admitted.

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J. K. Paulding's Sketch of the Great Lakes

In July 1842 a pair of American notables booked passage from Chicago to Buffalo on the famous lake steamer, *Great Western.* Martin Van Buren and James Kirke Paulding, respectively ex-President and ex-Secretary of Navy of the United States, were completing a five month's journey that had taken them through the entire South from Virginia to New Orleans, up the Mississippi to Memphis, across Tennessee to Nashville where they had visited their political master, Jackson, at The Hermitage, through Kentucky to Ashland, the manorial home of Henry Clay. Van Buren went on triumphantly into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but Paulding, tired of political celebrations, had gone down the Ohio to Cairo, up the Mississippi to St. Louis and the Illinois river, up the Illinois to Ottawa and overland to Chicago where he rejoined Van Buren's party.[1]

The purpose of the junket had been political. Van Buren was seeking support for the political contest of 1844. Tyler's bank and land policies were alienating southern and western Democrats, and the time looked right for winning delegates to the next national Democratic convention. Paulding, long a friend and more recently a rural neighbor of Van Buren, had probably been asked to go along because of his acceptability to the slave-owning South and his antagonism to rampant schemes for internal improvement. The ex-Secretary of Navy was a middle-of-the-road Democrat, a "Northern man with Southern sympathies."

[1] Paulding described the Mississippi leg of his tour in "The Mississippi", *Graham's Magazine* (April 1843), and the Illinois portion in "The Illinois and the Prairies", *Graham's Magazine* (January 1849). For these see the present writer's "James Kirk Paulding on the Mississippi, 1842," in *Journal of Mississippi History,* October, 1948, and "A Tour of Illinois in 1842," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* September, 1949.

Narratives of travel, particularly in the West, were extraordinarily popular in those boom days of western development. It was only natural that a man, especially a politician whose chief interest was literature rather than politics, should turn his travels to his literary account. Paulding wrote his impressions of the Great Lakes for the newly-founded *Columbian Ladies and Gentlemen's Magazine,* a publication which was soon featuring his name as a special attraction for its readers.[2] As everyone wanted to know about the physical characteristics of the great West, Paulding obliged with comments on the elevation, the area, the tides, and the storms of the Lakes. Unlike other reporters, however, he seldom remarked on the absence of harbors or lighthouses, the difficulty of navigating sandy narrows or mudflats, and the loss of life and property from needless wrecks. In that respect he was carefully following the Democratic party line: avoid the issue of internal improvements.

On the other hand, Paulding did make ironic sallies against the mania for speculation and bitterly denounced the depressing result of that mania, the financial debacle of 1837–1842 in the western states. He decried the lack of energy displayed by the natives of the region and praised the thrift and industry of the German migrants. He poked fun at the desire of westerners to raze all vestiges of antiquity (the civilization of the French), and was mildly amused at the ambition of every lake city to be a "great emporium in time."

For those who cultivate the myth that the Canadian-American border was always a "peaceful boundary," Paulding's one-hundred-and-fifty per centum Americanism will prove something of a shock. His emphasis on the fortifications along that border must be read in the light of the British-American controversies of the forties. The geological and linear surveyors of the Lake Superior area (1840–1845), William A. Burt in particular, were constantly on the alert for points of military significance. Saber rattling was common in and out of the halls of Congress and the Maine and Oregon disputes were in the offing. One of the more potent arguments (and the only one accepted by most Democrats) for river and lake improvements during this period was "national defense." Only four years after Paulding wrote this sketch, Horace Greeley (a Whig) was decrying Polk's expenditures for a huge fortress on the Detroit river and the needless garrison at Sault Ste. Marie.[3]

Still another aspect of Paulding's nationalism is his pride in the

[2] "Sketch of the Great Western Lakes," Vol. I. (1843) 258–266.
[3] See "Horace Greeley Tours the Great Lakes", *Inland Seas*, July, 1947.

military achievements of American heroes, his pathetic scorn for the defeats of the "superannuated veterans," and his indignation at the desecration of the Brock monument at Lewiston. Of a piece with this attitude is his futile wish that the Horse Shoe Falls were completely within the American boundary! It must be remembered that Paulding's was the most vigorous pen exerted in the "war of the reviewers" or the "paper war" between America and England, 1815–1855. The writer of *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, A Sketch of Old England by a New England Man,* and *John Bull in America* would necessarily look with chagrin upon anything about which the British could boast.

* * * *

Sketch of the Great Western Lakes*

To those who have been in the habit of contemplating the ocean, Lake Michigan presents nothing new to the eye; yet it excites new feelings and awakens new impressions in the mind. It is indeed only a sea of fresh water; the color, the waves and all the phenomena, except the sparkling of the waves at night, are the same. Yet the great chain, of which Michigan is one of the links, will ever be considered as among the most remarkable productions of nature. These lakes constitute by far the greatest body of fresh water in the known world; a portion of which is, I think, derived from the earth they cover, since it seems evident that the supply from the rivers and the clouds is insufficient to keep these vast reservoirs forever replenished, although the waters here collected are drawn from a region computed at half a million of square miles. Their surface is several hundred feet above that of the ocean, their bottoms, in some places, it is believed, somewhat below; and they are computed to contain at least one half the fresh water on the face of the globe. These sublime characteristics, when all at once realized by the evidence of the senses, render a first view of Lake Michigan extremely impressing.

The color of the water is, I think, not quite so deep in tint as that of the ocean, and the sands of the shores are not so brilliantly white, though equally free from dirt, and there are very few shells mixed with them. The pebbles, though worn smooth, are not generally round, like those on the sea shore, and the descent from the foot of the bank on which Chicago stands, whose elevation is not, I should judge, more than ten or twelve feet above the surface of the lake, is very gradual. When the winds are high the waves are twin brothers to those of the Atlantic, and as you look out on the wide expanse you see nothing beyond but the sky. The shores are generally low and level; very few landmarks can be distinguished at a dis-

* Except for some omitted passages, described in the footnotes, the article is reprinted as written in *The Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine,* I, June, 1844, 258–266. Spelling, grammar and punctuation have not been modified.

tance, and no mountains appear in perspective. The surface of Lake Michigan is much higher than the Mississippi, and there is nothing but a vast inclined plane between them. An overflow of the lake in that direction would deluge all the country to the shores of the ocean. In approaching Chicago, between that place and Juliet,[4] there are some curious indications of having once been an outlet from the southern extremity of the lake. The channel of a river, perhaps a quarter of a mile wide, with what are called the first and second banks, is clearly defined; and though the grass and flowers grow there now, it is difficult to resist the impression that "once upon a time," as the story books say, a broad, deep river here coursed its way from Lake Michigan toward father Mississippi.[5]

There is, and always has been, an impression among those long residing on the lakes, that they are influenced by regular tides, the effects of which become apparent every seven, eight or nine years. That they are sometimes higher than at others I believe is certain; but whether these vicissitudes are periodical, and consequently produced by influences always in operation, or whether merely accidental, is yet to be decided.[6] The theory of tides is a mystery, and but for the moon, which is a universal panacea for the broken shins of philosophy, it would be as inscrutable as future time. "There are more things in heaven and earth than are found in your philosophy," ye learned Thebans, and nothing can be more presumptuous than to withhold our belief in the evidence of the senses, merely because the narrow, circumscribed intellect of man is insufficient for its comprehension. He who can compass the being, the attributes and the providence of the Creator of all things, and he alone, is authorized to reject the evidences of his senses, because he cannot comprehend the causes which produced the phenomenon.

Whether or not, however, the tide regularly rises and falls in the lakes, once in seven or any fixed number of years, it is to be hoped it will always stop short in time, since a rise of some twelve or fourteen feet above its present level would precipitate Lake Michigan, not only on the good town of Chicago, but the entire country for hundreds of miles. There are distinct and undeniable evidences of its having been once under water, and what has happened may occur again. But I don't wish to frighten my fellow citizens, more especially just now, when they have so many alarms on their hands. What with the tariff, annexation, repudiation and prophet Miller's prediction,[7] people not of iron nerves can hardly sleep quietly in their beds at night. But it is an ill wind that blows nobody good; and those who apprehend the overflowing of the lakes will receive great consolation from a belief in the prophecy.

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[4] The common term in the forties for Joliet, Illinois. Paulding, Van Buren, and others urged the adoption of the present name in honor of the French explorer, Louis Jolliet.

[5] The geology of the Great Lakes was the subject of much speculation at this time. Paulding's observation was correct, of course.

[6] Many learned papers were written about the "tides" of the Lakes. See particularly, W. W. Mather's "The Meteorology of Lake Superior and the Causes of the Sudden and Gradual Changes of the level of the Waters of the Lakes," 1847.

[7] Joseph Miller predicted the end of the world much to the consternation of thousands of weak-witted folk.

After luxuriating in the fine summer weather, from the beginning of March, in the South, I encountered autumn in July at Chicago. Luckily, however, while there, I received my cloak, which had been left behind at St. Louis, whence it had traveled by itself a distance of some five or six hundred miles. Who shall say we are not an honest people, notwithstanding bankrupt laws, stop laws and repudiation?[8] I embarked in the Great Western of the lakes,[9] one of the most splendid steam vessels I have ever seen, commanded by Captain Walker, whom, in acknowledgment of his kind attentions, I recommend to all voyagers on the great lakes. It was evening when we got under way, and night coming on almost immediately, I saw no more until next morning, when we came to at Milwaukie, a very pleasantly situated and thriving town, which only wants a good harbor to become a place of considerable note, in time. But in this country nobody waits for time; the old gentleman is too short-winded to keep pace with the "Go aheads," who mount fortune's wheel and set it whizzing round at such a prodigious rate that they grow dizzy, tumble off and are swallowed up in the mill race.

Leaving Milwaukie, which, like Corporal Trim's unfortunate King of Bohemia,[10] only wants a harbor, we again launched forth on the broad, transparent bosom of the lake, and about mid-day were out of sight of land. Thus we continued till the evening came on, and early next morning entered the strait of Michilimackinac, whose formidable name has been most softened into Mackina.[11] This place is not only celebrated for its natural beauties, which are certainly very great, but is interesting for its historical associations. It was the central point of the French trade with Indians till M. La Motte Cadillac, by his personal influence with the savages, drew a great portion of it to Detroit. But it has never risen to be more than an inconsiderable village, and seems not to have been much operated upon by that magic influence observed almost everywhere else in places transferred from other powers to the United States. One hundred and twenty-two years ago, when visited by Father Charlevoix, it was still a great mart for peltry, although as early as that period it had begun rapidly to decline. In 1770, having been several years before surrendered to the crown of England with the rest of the French possessions in North America, it was still a rendezvous for Indian traders and had a fort and garrison for its defence. It was surprised and taken by one of the best planned and conducted stratagems to be found in the records or traditions of Indian warfare, and the garrison massacred . . .[12]

The island of Mackina is an important military and commercial position, but does not seem to partake of that growing quality for which our young towns are for the most part so remarkable. There are few houses

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[8] Investors in the east commonly denounced such actions as deliberately dishonest tricks to get out of paying debts.

[9] Margaret Fuller traveled from Chicago to Mackinac in the same boat the following year, 1843.

[10] Corporal Trim was Uncle Toby's sidekick in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.

[11] Philip Hone, covering the same area in 1847, complained that the euphony of the old name had been destroyed by the change.

[12] A long passage from Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures* (1809) describing the massacre is omitted.

which appear to have been recently built, and fewer still building. Some of the old French habitations still remain, throwing an air of antiquity over the place; and a number of Indian huts were scattered on the beach, among which were seen a few straggling Indians, men, women and pappooses.[13] There was one ship and some fifteen or twenty vessels of different kinds, principally lake schooners, at anchor in the strait, giving the scene an air of commerce; but it is now a mere stopping place, and I believe it has not yet entered into the head of any sanguine pupil of anticipation to speculate in city lots at Mackina. Yet it is a spot of most especial beauty, rising from the bosom of the most transparent water in the world to a height which overlooks all the land and the lakes, to the utmost extent of the reach of the eye; clothed with fresh, green grass, crowned with stately trees and exhibiting in its aspect and outline as much of grace and beauty as I have anywhere seen comprised in a single view. There is here a fort of considerable pretensions, but it is commanded by a hill within cannon shot in the rear, which is not fortified.

It would be mere repetition to tell you of the fine fishing at Mackina, and more especially at the Sault St. Marie, above. These fisheries, particularly the latter, are becoming of consequence, and before many years will be still more important, unless the white fish are frightened away by digging a canal, or making a dam, or some other astonishing improvement that, according to custom, may cost more than it will come to.[14] There is no portion of animated nature more timid, suspicious, and often apparently capricious, than a fish. He is attracted or repulsed by slight and almost inperceptible causes, operating at vast distances and changing the course of his emigrations from one quarter of the world to another. His haunts should never be tampered with, unless the object to be attained is of great and paramount importance. As much, and frequently more, is lost than gained by damming up the course of rivers; and very often the erection of a mill is the forerunner of the loss of a fishery of a thousand times more value to an extensive region of surrounding country. I question whether the advantages of all the locks and dams on the Connecticut river repay the people of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont for the loss of the salmon and shad which formerly frequented that river in such quantities.[15] There is a mighty and tempting water power at Sault St. Marie, but fortunately they can't dam up the strait of Mackina or make mill ponds of the lakes . . .[16]

In passing from this place to the entrance of the River St. Clair, through Lake Huron, in a steam boat, and indeed in navigating all the lakes, we see little of the country and almost as little on the water, to attract attention. The boat keeps a wide berth, as the sailors say; the shores are either out of sight or present only a low, level line, scarcely distinguished by any

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[13] See Margaret Fuller's *A Summer on the Lakes* (1844) for more detailed descriptions of the Indian village in 1843.

[14] Michigan's plans for a state financed canal were well under way at the time.

[15] An interesting commentary that deserves credit for its recognition of the problem of conserving fisheries.

[16] A short quotation on fishing, from La Hontan's *New Voyages to North America,* has been omitted here.

perceptible elevation. I saw very few vessels on these inland seas, except in Lake Ontario; and upon the whole, there is all, and more than all, the monotony of the ocean in a voyage on the lakes, with the single exception that landings are rather more frequent.[17] When it is calm, or in a light breeze, the sailing is very pleasant; but with a fresh wind the swell becomes mighty troublesome, and in a gale the navigation is not only extremely disagreeable, but dangerous, there being very few harbors in which to seek shelter.[18] This is more especially the case on Lake Erie, which, being somewhat more shallow than the others, throws up a testy, peevish wave, different from the swelling, rolling mountains of the fathomless ocean.

At the River St. Clair the possessions of the United States and Great Britain shake hands with each other, that is to say, they approach so near that forts are erected on either hand, to signalize their good neighborhood and exchange civilities when occasion requires. There are small towns, houses and plantations, along this charming little river, and a great city in perspective, just at its mouth, the name of which I have forgotten. As the strait expands into Lake St. Clair it becomes so shallow that our vessel turned up the sand in great quantities for a distance of some miles.[19] Immense meadows are seen skirting it on either side, and the entire combination presents as soft and gentle a scene as ever was exhibited in fairy land. The lake, as usual, afforded little variety of prospect until we approached Detroit, where commences another succession of very beautiful scenery. Here, as at Mackina, we again come among the antiquities of this new world and detect many of the features of an old-settled country. Here, too, those excellent and agreeable cousins, John Bull and Brother Jonathan, live so near that they can see into each other's eyes and discuss matters at the mouth of the cannon, after trying what can be done by talking of "a common origin," "identity of language," "kindred habits and manners," "mother and daughter" and "all that sort of thing."

Heretofore, whenever the American and British possessions came in juxtaposition, I had always found a decided superiority in the former, in all the indications of increasing growth and prosperity. At Detroit this is not the case however. With the exception of the city, which has completely distanced the little town on the opposite shore, the British side appeared to be more populous and better cultivated, along the whole strait, from the city down to Lake Erie. Much of the American side, below Detroit, is low, apparently swampy, and in a state of nature; while the other has all the aspect of long cultivation. The bank, with occasional exceptions, is higher and skirted with a number of respectable, old fashioned houses, that strongly contrast with the gay and sometimes rather fantastic cottages on the opposite shore, in the vicinity of the city, which is finely situated, exhibits striking indications of active business, and, to use a favorite phrase of our sanguine speculators, "*must* be a great emporium in time." Here are some vestiges of the ancient French occupation; but, with the exception of the Catholic churches, nothing old can long withstand the desperate hos-

[17] Paulding's knowledge of the ocean was largely second hand. Though Secretary of Navy, he had never made an Atlantic crossing.

[18] However much he tried to play down the internal improvement issue, Paulding could not altogether avoid stating obvious facts.

[19] Other travelers, observing this shallowness, cried to high heaven for a well-dredged channel—at government expense.

tility of our people to greybeard antiquity. They tolerate nothing old, but wine and tobacco, and are exactly the antipodes to the famous antiquary who disinherited a profligate son for promising to "turn over a *new* leaf," and despised America because it was called the new world.[20] At New Orleans I recollect once noticing a tall, thin, bilious looking person, with a face shriveled apparently by insatiable money-making cares, who was eyeing the venerable old cathedral with a peculiar expression of hostility, and, as I had little doubt, calculating the number of lots which might be carved out of the church yard, in the way of a glorious speculation.

Near the mouth of the strait, as you enter Lake Erie, is the little town and fortress of Malden, famous, or rather infamous, in the annals of the late war.[21] It is situated along an extensive level bank, elevated some thirty or forty feet above the water; and the place is not otherwise strong, except from the weakness of an assailing enemy. There is a little island opposite, which figures in the late treaty with Great Britain,[22] and which, in conjunction with the fort on the main land, completely commands the narrow channel on the British side. There is, as I learned from Captain Walker, another channel on the American side, affording sufficient water for vessels drawing upward of twenty feet. It is far more intricate than the other, and I neglected to inquire whether it brought vessels within imminent distance of the guns of the island, on which, however, I discovered no fortifications in passing.

Throughout the whole extent of these great lakes there are, I think, but four or five points of immediate proximity between the possessions of the United States and Great Britain, to wit, the Sault St. Marie, Detroit, the River St. Clair and the Niagara frontier. The third and the last have already been illustrated by the effusion of blood; and it is there that, in all human probability, future times may exhibit many a bitter struggle, many displays of lofty heroism and many a spectacle over which humanity weeps, while patriotism triumphs.[23]

Our voyage on Lake Erie was cold, wintry and cheerless; the ladies and the land lubbers all got sick, of that intolerable disease which excites no sympathy and admits of only one cure, namely, a contact with mother earth. We halted about an hour at Cleveland, in Ohio, which is a very pretty, very busy and apparently a very flourishing town, with a number of "suspicious" looking mansions on the superb terrace which rises from the lake beach. I say suspicious, for during the whole course of a long journey of seven thousand miles I seldom noticed a house especially distinguished for its portico and lofty pillars, its tower, its costly and inappropriate embellishments, without finding, on inquiry, that the original builder had gone the way of all flesh, or, at all events, was a tenant at mercy to some bank, or, according to philanthropic phrase, "in the iron grasp of an unfeeling, inexorable Shylock creditor"—in other words, some honest man who was

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[20] A reference to a character in one of his own plays, *The Bucktails*.

[21] Malden, now Amherstberg, was the base of operations both for the British "Erie fleet", defeated by Perry in 1813, and the force that wiped out the Kentuckians at Raisin River.

[22] The Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842) gave Crosse Isle to the United States and Fighting Island to Canada.

[23] Alarums and rumors of war were rife in the bellicose decades, 1820–1850.

rather impatient at seeing his debtor living in a palace, and spending the thousands belonging to other people. It were, I think, much to be wished that some one would take up the cudgel in behalf of unfortunate creditors, who generally press for their dues because they cannot pay their debts without them, and who now-a-days not only lose their money, but their reputation into the bargain.

At Cleveland is the entrance or outlet to the great canal connecting the lakes with the Ohio river;[24] and here I saw hundreds of emigrants, principally German, on their way to the interior of the young giant State. Here was one complete community, comprising all the necessary trades, handicrafts and professions—a parson and a doctor. I could not learn whether they had brought a lawyer with them, but at all events, they will find plenty where they are going. They occupied two or three boats, the windows of which were blithe with merry faces glowing with health and happy anticipations; which I hoped and trusted, and indeed was convinced, would be realized, for they were sober, moral, industrious, prudent folks; and in what part of our country cannot such people realize comfort and independence? There is a mole at Cleveland, forming the harbor, with a lighthouse on the outward end. The great defect in the navigation of the lakes is the want of havens, either for commerce or security. The bays are for the most part open and exposed, and often shallow withal. The rivers have always a bar, where their currents meet the pressure of the lakes; there are few if any islands, under which vessels can take shelter, and hence the tempests are sometimes very destructive. Yet notwithstanding all this, these mighty fresh water oceans will, within a century, if God prospers the republic, be ploughed by almost as many keels as the Euxine or Mediterranean. Cleveland "*must*" then be a considerable city, and there is no use in contesting the matter.

We did not stop at Erie, or if so, it was in the middle of the night, and I missed seeing the scene of the exploit of the gallant young Perry. The name however recalled to my mind the smiling face and mild, yet spirited blue eye of that brave, estimable youth; and the time is coming, if it has not already come, when no citizen of the United States, unless he has the head of a cabbage and a heart of sponge, will ever pass by Put-in-Bay without casting a thought on the achievement there, as well as him who accomplished it, even as the Indian casts a stone on the mound which marks the grave of some distinguished chief.

The noble steamship, the Great Western of the lakes, arrived at Buffalo the sixth day after leaving Chicago, at the dawn of the morning. The approach to this city is very fine, and the views from it, along the lake, and down Niagara river, are full of all sorts of beauty. The growth of Buffalo is somewhat of a phenomenon, even in this country. But the same shocks which affrighted the land from its centre to its extremities have been felt in their utmost severity here.[25] They have not however produced death—only a temporary suspension of vitality. The country will spring up as suddenly as she fell, if the doctors don't take advantage of her being down,

[24] The Ohio Canal, Cleveland to Portsmouth on the Ohio, completed in 1833.

[25] The collapse following the inflation-boom era of state financed improvements.

and physic her to death. There are doubtless many towns and cities that effervesced from the fermentation of the times, of which the previous existence will ere long be extremely questionable. But Buffalo is not one of these. Its position insures its future prosperity, if the worthy and hospitable inhabitants will only condescend to become wise by experience, and wait till the child can walk before they dress him in breeches. Though nc doctor, I will offer them a prescription, which I pledge my word will not fail to set every man on his legs again, provided he does not do like beggars on horseback, to wit, ride to a place, which, not being found on any of the maps, is, in the estimation of certain great philosophers, of questionable existence. But to my prescription. Take five drachms of patience; six of prudence; ten of economy, and twenty-four of genuine persevering industry; mix these with an indefinite number of scruples of conscience against running in debt as fast as the rapids of Niagara; put all these ingredients in a vessel either of gold or silver—none else will do—and simmer them over a slow fire made of broken bank notes, until the ingredients become thoroughly amalgamated, and the notes are all consumed to ashes. This recipe has never failed; and if necessary thousands of certificates could be obtained from persons who have been radically cured by using it the proper time. It operates slowly, but the effect is always sure. *Mem.*—the more you take, the better.

The ride from Buffalo to the Falls is extremely agreeable, being frequently in sight of Niagara river, which at the outlet of Lake Erie runs with a strong current, but afterward subsides into a gentle stream, sometimes expanding into a lake, at others contracting into a narrow compass, with occasionally an island anchored on its bosom. There is nothing to indicate the approach to that famous cataract, justly denominated one of the wonders of the world. The road is perfectly level. All is soft, gentle, serene and quiet; for the roar of its tremendous plunge, which it is said may sometimes be heard at a distance of twenty miles, can hardly, in general, be distinguished at the Eagle tavern, where I stayed, even in the silence of night.

Niagara has so often been celebrated, both in poetry and in prose, that I shall not attempt what is unattainable by language, by painting, or by all the combined efforts of art. There is no standard in nature with which to compare it; and all the superlatives of language communicate nothing to the mind but shadows without substance, dimensions or outline. Yet the first and most general impression is that of disappointment; and those who go away, as a large portion of the visitors do, after only a single superficial view, would, if they dared, blaspheme this great work of the Creator. Like everything consummate in nature or in art, it must be contemplated, studied, in order to develop its perfections. The eye must become more familiar with its individual features and their combinations; the mind accustomed to compass the sublime array of vast and magnificent materials spread out before it; and the nerves disciplined, to stand on the verge of precipice overlooking the whirl of the impetuous torrent, before we can properly enjoy this unparalleled scene.

I remained here nearly a week, during which I every day visited some new points of view, and detected new combinations of infinite variety. There is no sameness here, for every step either opens or shuts out some

prominent object. This familiar and daily intercourse, far from verifying the old proverb, instead of breeding contempt or indifference, enabled me the better to realize that singular combination of sublimity and beauty by which Niagara is distinguished beyond any other scene I have ever beheld or imagined. After a few visits, the irritation of the nerves subsides into an intense yet pleasing excitement; terror gives place to admiration; we approach the verge of the precipice without apprehension, and begin to love what before we feared. I am somewhat too far advanced in the journey of life to be guided by the finger-post of hope, but can still enjoy the pleasures of memory, and the recollection of Niagara will constitute one of the jewels of the casket. Might I advise, I would recommend all visitors who are blessed with a wholesome relish for the stupendous works of nature, to remain here some days, and every morning and evening take a walk round what in other times was called Goat, but is now more descriptively and poetically christened Iris Island, for it is often decorated with rainbows.[26] It is the most magnificent promenade in the world, and affords the greatest variety. On two of its sides it is fretted and scoured by those tremendous rapids which rival the cataract itself in grandeur and sublimity; at the upper end, all is calm repose; the waters sleep against the green sward by which they are bounded; just at the center there is no perceptible current whatever; and all above is as smooth as a lake embosomed among mountains. But a few steps either way brings you within full view of the rapids, plunging over ledges of rocks, throwing up jets of snow-white foam, and dashing on with a mad impetuosity, and indescribable vehemence and desperation, toward the last great plunge into the bottomless abyss below. These hurry you along, until all at once you come to the consummation of sublimity in a full view of the Horse Shoe fall. The lower part of the island is I believe alone frequented, for in all my walks I recollect to have met no one, but a most respectable and somewhat ancient Quaker and his wife, who once or twice a day made this sublime and beartiful tour; although there were hundreds of sentimental fashionables at the hotel. When they had finished, the good dame would seat herself in the ruinous shed, which commands a fine view of the fall, take out her knitting, and remain for hours with her eyes fixed on the scenery, and her hands employed in the mysteries of the craft. Meanwhile, the good man—for goodness was stamped in his face—would stroll about in the vicinity, and if he caught any new object or point of view, come for his mate, and invite her to share the banquet. It was pleasant to see them, for although past the age of romance, it was evident they still retained a gentle relish for the charms of nature, and that one of them at least had learned the art of associating useful employment with agreeable recreation; an art than which none is more conducive to human happiness. I parted from Niagara with regret, for it improved every day on farther acquaintance. Independently of the attractions of the falls, it is a pleasant village; the site dry and healthy; the air temperate and pure; and everything acceptable, except the ever to be abhorred limestone water, the tormentor of stomachs and inveterate foe of tetotalism.

[26] A misguided attempt to "romanticize" the unromantic name "Goat Island" did not succeed. Margaret Fuller was content with the term, Goat Island, in 1843.

It is not known who was the first white man that saw these falls. The French who first penetrated this region were more accustomed to wield the sword than the pen, and thought more of beavers than books. The The Chevalier Tonti notices them incidentally, and estimates their height at six hundred feet. La Hontan, who visited them in 1687, despatches the subject in few words . . .[27] A much more particular and accurate description is given by Father Hennepin, from which it is evident that time has produced little alteration within the last century and a half; although it is the general, and I think well founded opinion, that the cataract was originally at Lewiston, where there is an abrupt descent into the basin of Lake Ontario. If this impression be correct, the change could not, I imagine, have been produced by the mere action of the waters on the surface of the rocks, since they soon become covered with a slimy substance, over which the swift current glides without any friction whatever.[28] The process must have been that of undermining, and thus causing the superincumbent rocks to fall, for want of due support below. This is exemplified by the fall on the American side, whose apparent height is greatly diminished by masses of rock which have tumbled from above, and are piled up beneath.

Niagara and its neighborhood have other points of interest besides the noble scenery. At Lundy's Lane, at Chippeway and at Fort Erie, were fought battles as bravely contested as any of modern times. It was there that our countrymen wiped away the disgrace of Malden; that self-taught generals retrieved what had been lost by superannuated veterans; and that our countrymen proved themselves worthy descendants of their revolutionary fathers.[29] Yet while contemplating these scenes with honest pride, I could not keep ⌈from⌉ asking myself the end of all this bloodshed. There seemed nothing here worth fighting for, except the Horse Shoe fall, which is incomparably the finest of the group, and which I cannot help wishing completely within the limits of the United States, in order that we might boast of the sole possession of one of the wonders of the world. Then, when the Italian spouted of his St. Peters, "his Raphaels, Corregios and stuff," the Turk of his Stamboul; and the Englishman of his tunnel, we might silence all their prating by challenging them to produce such a *chef d'oeuvre* as the Horse Shoe fall.

The ride to Lewiston is full of sublimity and beauty . It affords frequent peeps into the chasm through which the fretted waters rush away, to find peace and repose in the quiet bosom of Ontario; as well as occasional views of the distant cataract, one of which I thought the finest of all, and which I visited more than once. It is a few miles on the road to Lewiston, and may be known by a spring of mineral water, covered with a neat little building.

There is also the great whirlpool, a worthy associate of the falls and rapids above; and "The Devil's Hole," a place which makes one shudder

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27 A short paragraph on the Falls from La Hontan is omitted.

28 A heated controversy was in progress at this time over the natural versus the catastrophic origin of Niagara Falls.

29 John Q. Adams visited the same spots in 1843, and, in a speech at Buffalo, asked that "this state of temper (peace) may be perpetuated, and that the hand of war and garments rolled in blood may never again be exhibited."

to look down upon, and whose natural horrors are heightened by a tradition of Indian massacre.[30] To sum up all, on one hand is a rich, quiet scene of cultivated fields interspersed with woods and green meadows, with cattle grazing and farmers ploughing in peace; on the other, the foaming river, rushing along in boiling eddies and whirlpools, through the gloomy abyss worn in the rock by its eternal fretting, until suddenly emerging from its imprisonment, it enters the vale of Lewiston, where it rests from its labors, and like a wearied traveler, lazily seeks its home in the bosom of Ontario. The view which all at once spreads out before you, as you suddently reach the abrupt descent into the vale of Lewiston, after a long ride over a level country, is one of the loveliest in all the land. The only object that mars the beauty of the scenery and detracts from the feeling it inspires, is the shattered ruin of the fine column erected to the memory of General Brock, who fell in the battle of Queenstown, and the indignation naturally excited in every breast at this brutal outrage on the memory of a brave and generous soldier.[31] It was a tribute of respect well deserved and well bestowed, and no man of proper feelings, be he friend or foe, can refrain from execrating the midnight incendiary who perpetrated this outrage. Thank heaven, he was not a chicken of our raising.

At Lewiston I embarked on the calm, quiet river, which thence to its confluence with Lake Ontario presents a striking contrast to the whirling torrent above, in the steamer Lady of the Lake, the neatest and prettiest of all its kind. Our voyage to Oswego was made principally by night, and I saw little worthy of remark, except the sun setting in the lake, and a greater number of vessels than on the upper lakes. Oswego is a fine town, but like many others I have seen, has suffered much from the fever of anticipation, the prevailing epidemic of the times. Its natural advantages, aided by artificial improvements now in operation, will, however, I have no doubt, in a few years enable it to recover its strength and vigor, and become, in good time, the queen city of Lake Ontario.

Here I left the great chain of inland seas, with impressions of their grandeur and sublimity which will not soon be effaced. There is that within and about them which awakens the mind to new perceptions of the omnipotence of the great architect of the universe, new ideas of the vastness of created things; and those who prefer the contemplation of nature in her gigantic stature and simple attire of grace and beauty as exhibited in our new world, to that of the moss-grown, decayed works of men in the old, which are rather exemplifications of his weakness than his power, cannot enjoy a greater luxury than that of circumnavigation the great northern lakes, which, with Niagara Falls, have nothing to compare with them on the face of the earth.

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[30] September 14, 1763. A wagon train en route from Fort Schlosser to Lewiston was attacked by five hundred Senaca Indians at a spot overlooking Devil's Hole and the entire party, save three, massacred.

[31] Sir Isaac Brock (1769–1812), the British commander who captured Fort Michilimackinac and forced Hull to surrender at Detroit. A monument to him, at Queenston Heights, was blown up in 1840 by an irate Irishman.

The British Admiralty versus Sir Charles Napier

Arvel B. Erickson

The Crimean War which began in 1853 had, like Topsy, "just grew." While it was "growing" it was necessary for the British Admiralty to make those preparations which, should the war come, would enable the country successfully to prosecute it. The aim of this article is to explain the nature of the preparations made by the Admiralty for the Baltic phase of that war, and to discuss the essential facts in the dispute that developed between Sir James Graham, the First Lord, and Admiral Sir Charles Napier, commander of the Baltic fleet.[1]

Since the bulk of Russia's fleet, as well as her chief naval bases, were in the Baltic, whence any Russian attack on England would obviously have to come, Graham made elaborate plans for naval operations there. It was known that the Russian Baltic fleet consisted of three divisions with nine line-of-battle ships each stationed at Reval in Esthonia, Helsingfors in Finland, and Cronstadt in Russia. The Admiralty hopefully expected that a successful attack here would prevent these three groups from uniting, keep Russia from concentrating all her strength in the Black Sea, and at the same time to fix the wavering neutrality of Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia.

The strategy having been determined, it became the duty of the First Lord to provide a fleet adequate to the task. As early as April, 1853, orders were issued to all admirals, port officials and others to maintain a discreet silence and under no circumstances to talk with newspaper men about naval matters.[2] Other orders directed that all ships be got in readiness for action, that the recruiting of seamen be started, and that all leaves be cancelled.[3] An extensive correspondence was carried on by the Admiralty with architects and

[1] The author wishes to acknowledge with thanks the kindness of Sir Fergus Graham in permitting him to use the entire correspondence between Sir James Graham and Admiral Napier which has been carefully preserved at the ancestral home in Netherby, England.

[2] *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Secretary Out-Letters; Home Stations, Military Branch) 2/1562.

[3] *Ibid.*

engineers about new designs of ships—construction, improvements in guns, etc.[4] In June an assiduous search was instituted for competent pilots, particularly for those who knew the Baltic region thoroughly,[5] and surveyors were sent to Cronstadt and the Aland Islands.[6] By the end of the year an imposing fleet, consisting of 44 ships, 2,200 guns, and 22,000 men, had been assembled—a fleet which had for real power, according to Yonge, "never been surpassed."[7]

But who was to command this imposing array of power? There were three possible choices, Graham told Queen Victoria: Lord Dundonald, Sir William Parker, and Sir Charles Napier. The rule of seniority still prevailed, but Dundonald was 79 years of age and the cabinet refused to appoint him, and, since Parker's health was failing, Graham was left with no choice but to appoint Napier. His recommendation of Napier was couched in these words: "Though his appointment may be open to some objections, it is strongly recommended by many considerations."[8] He was reputed to be a good seaman, was said to be courageous, and he undoubtedly loved his country. Still, he had on several occasions been guilty of insubordination, and on October 6, 1853, had addressed a public meeting in London at which he had criticized the peace policy of Aberdeen and said that "instead of reviewing a grand fleet at Spithead, he [Napier] would have treated the Russians to the old Nelson trick in the Baltic."[9] It was this type of conduct that led Clarendon to state that Napier was "one of the most ill-conditioned men that ever lived," and that the "ablest officers of his own profession" disliked him. What was even worse, to mid-Victorians, he was uncouth, ill-educated, slovenly in appearance, and quarrelsome. His appointment, which proved unfortunate in every respect, can therefore be excused only on the grounds that Graham had no other choice.

Taking command of the fleet, Napier, "hero of the knife and fork," as Greville put it, and "banqueting on victories still to be

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4 *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Comptroller Out-Letters), 9/15; 16; 17.

5 *Ibid.* (Adm. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697.

6 Captain Washington, one of the surveyors, reported that he was "thunderstruck," at the "wonderfully efficient" state of the Russian Navy. See Clarendon to Graham, Sept. 27, 1853, in Charles Stuart Parker, *Life of Sir James Graham*, London, 1907, II, 223–224. Seymour, the British Ambassador to Russia, held the opposite view. See Seymour, to Graham, Aug. 18, 1853, in *Ibid.* See also *Fraser's Magazine*, XLIX, 214–224.

7 Charles D. Yonge, *The History of the British Navy from the Earliest Times to the Present*, second ed., London, R. Bentley, 1866, III, 290. See also the *London Illustrated News*, XXIV, 206.

8 Graham to Queen Victoria, Feb. 9, 1854, in *Graham Papers*.

9 See *London Illustrated News*, XXIII, 333.

won,"[10] congratulated Graham on having fitted out "such a splendid fleet," and in February departed for the Baltic. But on the very day of departure, he began to lose his vaunted nerve. To the Mayor and Council of Portsmouth, who gave him a farewell dinner, he said he hoped that England "would not expect too much," because his fleet was a new one, systems of warfare were now different, and great consideration was necessary "to manage a fleet urged by steam." This from the man to whom Graham had written: "If you are dissatisfied with the preparations which have been made, and are in process, if you have not entire confidence in the strength of the combined forces of France and England, you had better say so to me at once, and decline to accept [the] command."[11]

True to form Napier at once began to disobey orders. On March 18, he was directed to remain at Wingo Sound until he received further orders, but he left it on March 23 without explaining why and without the approval of the Admiralty Board.[12] When questioned about it, Napier replied, on April 8, that if he had stayed at Wingo Sound "the Russians might have siezed that opportunity and passed a squadron through the Sound, when I was passing the intricate passage of the Belt."[13] And on the same day he wrote to Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, that it was going to be difficult to strike at Russia and that it would have been wiser to have sent all the men who were off for Turkey to the Baltic instead—about 100,000![14] On March 30, war having been declared, Napier was ordered to advance to the Gulf of Finland to establish a close blockade there as well as in the Gulf of Bothnia; to prevent Russian ships from getting into the North Sea; and to "undertake warlike operations."[15] He was given "the largest discretionary power" in carrying out this task, was urged fully to cooperate with the French Admiral, and was supplied with a large quantity of maps, charts, diagrams of the Russian fortresses, as well as a batch of papers describing naval operations in the Baltic during the Napoleonic Wars.[16]

Napier carefully studied the latter. Then, on April 18, fearful of

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[10] Cited in *Ibid.*, XXIV, 243.

[11] *Napier Papers*, VII (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40024), p. 4.

[12] *Graham Papers* (Correspondence between the Admiralty and Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier Respecting Naval Operations in the Baltic), Dispatch No. 5, p. 3. (Hereinafter cited as *Corr. with Napier*).

[13] *Ibid.*, Dispatch No. 8, p. 5.

[14] See G. B. Earp, *History of the Baltic War*, London, 1857, 95.

[15] *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 93. See also *Napier Papers*, VII (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40024), p. 88.

[16] *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 102–103; p. 97–98; and (Adm. Sec. In-Letters), 1/5635.

entering the Gulf of Finland, he wrote to the Admiralty: "I find that in 1808–1809 the fleet never entered the Gulf of Finland till the month of July. I should wish their lordships instructions on that head."[17] In 1808–1809, replied the Admiralty, "there were no ships of war propelled by steam employed within the Gulf of Finland." Dispatches received on May 16, 20, and 30 further served to diminish Napier's reputation in the eyes of the First Lord. In the first, he said he had "no fear of the Russian Fleet;"[18] in the second, the querulous Admiral said that as for steam, "it had no effect upon fogs," and that some of his ships were "perfectly unfit to go into action;"[19] and in the third, he declared that Sweaborg and Helsingfors were "unattackable either by sea or land."[20] On June 12, he wrote again that Sweaborg was unassailable by ships, and on July 1 that "any attack on Cronstadt . . . with our means is perfectly impossible,"—but an army, he thought, could attack it by way of St. Petersburg![21]

At the same time Graham had received reports from Captain Plumridge, Rear-Admiral Chads and General Jones each of whom had reconnoitred the region about Sweaborg, and each of whom had reported that it *was* assailable. Nevertheless, Graham thought it proper to accept the report of the Admiral and on July 11 ordered him to meet the French Admiral at Faro and to proceed from there to Baro Sound where plans should be perfected for an attack on Bomarsund. If the attack succeeded, they should then launch an assault on Sweaborg. At the same time, he told Napier that he must closely blockade the Russian fleet in the Gulf of Finland and that "wherever the bulk of your fleet may be, your duty as Commander-in-Chief is to be with it, and the paramount duty of this command must not be delegated to any other officer."[22]

But instead of meeting the French Admiral, Perceval Deschênes, at Baro Sound as directed, Napier met him at Ledsund, the outer roadstead of Bomarsund! Then he protested that Graham's directive was obviously based on certainty of success at Bomarsund whereas he [Napier] had also to "provide for want of success."[23] Not only that, but he also began to quarrel with Deschênes, whom Cow-

17 *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), Dispatch No. 11, p. 6.
18 Napier to Graham, in Parker, *Life of Sir James Graham*, II, 232.
19 *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), Dispatch No. 14, p. 8.
20 *Ibid.*, No. 15, p. 8.
21 *Ibid.*, No. 24, p. 12.
22 *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 151–154.
23 *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), July 24, 1854, No. 28, p. 16; *Napier Papers*, VIII (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40025, p. 63.)

ley had described as "a very concilliatory good-tempered man."[24] Alarmed at fancied signs of bad weather, fearful of the strength of the Russian fleet and their bomb-proof forts, Napier would perhaps not even have attacked Bomarsund were it not that he had been ordered to do so.[25] At length, on August 8, a combined English and French land and sea assault was launched. It was entirely successful and the Russians surrendered the fort along with 2000 men.

After the seizure of Bomarsund Napier sent General Jones to make another reconnaissance of Reval and Sweaborg, and to Napier's horror, Jones not only reported that Sweabord could be taken in seven or eight days, but actually drew up a plan of attack for the Admiral. Jones sent a copy of his report to the Admiralty, which three days later received an additional report from Niel, the French General, confirming Jones's findings.[26] On the basis of this information, and anxious to have Sweaborg taken before the French army went home for the winter, Graham directed Napier to consult with his French allies as to what further operations could be undertaken which would "justify before the Public the confidence which has been placed in you,"[27] and to put in writing the joint opinion of himself and Admiral Deschênes if they decided against attacking Sweaborg.[28]

At a council of war on August 28, the Admirals decided that it was too late in the year to attack Sweaborg, and began to make plans for returning home. Graham, deploring this decision of the Admirals, ordered Napier to continue the blockade in the Gulf of Finland, because "in former years we have remained there as late as November,"[29] and because if the fleet withdrew the Russians might come out to make the whole Baltic summer operation seem ridiculous.

Then, unexpectedly, Napier made another reconnaissance of Sweaborg and reported that an attack could be made and described in detail how it could be done.[30] Graham, completely astounded, naturally asked "what, then, are the obstacles to an immediate attempt?"[31] Napier, having fully expected to be told not to make the attempt at that season, was now cornered. So, having decided not to attack Sweaborg, he replied that he had never said Sweaborg

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[24] F. A. Wellesley, ed., *Secrets of the Second Empire,* New York, 1929, 55.
[25] *Napier Papers,* VIII (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40025), p. 134.
[26] *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. In-Letters), 1/5625.
[27] *Ibid.* (Adm. Secret Orders and Letters), 2/1697, p. 172–174.
[28] *Ibid.,* 178–184.
[29] *Napier Papers,* IX (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40026), p. 118.
[30] *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 46, p. 23.
[31] Graham to Napier, Sept. 22, 1854, in Parker, *Life of Sir James Graham,* II, 237.

was assailable, that no man in his right senses would attempt it at that late season, and that Jones' scheme was sheer "madness."[32] In addition, he violated the Admiralty's orders by sending the sailing ships home and ordering the screws to Kiel.

In the meantime, the Admiralty had received a report from Sir Robert Peel, one of the Lords of the Admiralty who had been at Cronstadt, in which Peel declared that if Napier had been even mildly energetic, even Cronstadt could have been taken. General Niel had made a similar report. Then General Jones complained to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary at War, that Napier had denied him permission to reconnoitre Cronstadt. Newcastle discussed it with Graham, who, justifiably provoked, wrote to Napier that he strongly regretted this refusal to let Jones make the reconnaissance and ordered him to explain the reasons,[33] told him about the reports of Peel and Niel, reminded him that "war [was] not conducted without risks and dangers,"[34] and acidly declared that no instructions had been given him to proceed to Kiel.

Napier's reply angered Graham and the members of the Admiralty Board. Both Peel and Niel, he said, were "a couple of old women;"[35] he had not permitted Jones to make the reconnaissance of Cronstadt because the Admiralty had not sent him orders to do so; he had sent the ships to Kiel because of "frightful gales."

When, late in September, it was publicly known that the Baltic fleet was on its way home, a storm of protest arose. The *Illustrated News,* for instance, declared that having merely taken Bomarsund and cruised about the Baltic, the fleet should be ashamed to come home. It was like the French King:

> The Baltic Fleet, with fifty thousand men, Sailed up the seas—and then sailed home again.[36]

The *Times* declared that Cronstadt or Sweaborg, not Spithead, ought to be the fleet's destination,[37] while *Fraser's Magazine* denounced Napier for having "neither conquered nor attempted conquest."[38]

Aware of the fact that the public and the Admiralty were thoroughly dissatisfied with his summer's work, Napier, on September

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32 *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 56, p. 39–40.
33 *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Out-Letters, Naval Book, Pol. and Secret Branch), 2/1702, p. 33–34.
34 *Napier Papers,* IX (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40026), p. 205.
35 Napier to Graham, Oct. 3, 1854, in Parker, II, 238.
36 *London Illustrated News,* XXV, 387.
37 *London Times,* Sept. 13, 1854, p. 6.
38 *Fraser's Magazine,* LII, 724.

25, wrote that he had meant that Sweaborg was assailable *if* he had mortars, rockets, and Lancaster guns! Later notes complained that the Admiralty had been guilty of misinterpreting his reports, that when he had written that Sweaborg was assailable he had "never meant to infer that it could be taken by ships alone."[39]

At last, on October 31, Graham sent the following letter to Napier:

I am very unwilling to be involved in a written controversy with you; but you have brought it on yourself in your report of the 25th of September . . . That report appears to me to be entirely at variance with the opinions previously expressed by you and I certainly understood you then to say, that if you had Mortars, Rockets and Lancaster guns, you considered Sweaborg assailable by Sea. In May you declared it to be unassailable by sea or land and the Admiralty did not send you the appliances which in September you declared to be wanting because they believed they would be useless against a place which in the first instance you pronounced to be impregnable. I could not bring myself to believe that the want of Lancaster guns, or even of Mortars, rendered a sea attack on your plan of the 25th of September impossible, if you had 25 Sail-of-the-Line assembled before the place with all their means of verticle fire . . .[40]

To this sharp but proper note Napier replied that the Admiralty continuously misinterpreted his explanations and that instead of being criticised he should be given credit "for not trying to do something which must have led to inevitable disaster."[41] And Graham immediately replied that the Admiralty could not permit "any officer under their orders to suppose that they can deliberately misinterpret explanations on which they still require further explanation."[42]

In November two ships accidentally crashed into each other and the Admiralty ordered a prompt investigation and a complete report. But Napier, in his report, simply wrote a series of comments on the Admiralty's orders. This was too much and the Admiralty directly informed him that such orders were given "with a view to your carrying them out, and not for your comments."[43]

Completely disgusted with Napier's performance, and knowing that the Baltic was now safely frozen over, Graham, on December 1, ordered the fleet home. On December 22, "his great battle unfought, his immortal laurels unwon, and much of the work . . . remaining undone," as the *Illustrated News* aptly described it,[44] Na-

39 *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 70, p. 49.
40 *Napier Papers*, IX, (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40026), 225.
41 *Graham Papers* (Corr. with Napier), No. 72, p. 52.
42 *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Out-Letters, Naval Book, Pol. and Secret Branch), 2/1702, p. 183–184.
43 *Ibid.*, 267.
44 *London Illustrated News*, XXV, 642.

pier anchored at Spithead, and, to his surprise and consternation, found this order awaiting him: "You are hereby required and directed to strike your Flag and come on shore."[45] Did this mean, asked Napier, that his command was at an end? "The order which you have received . . . to strike your Flag and come on shore," answered Graham, "is always the termination of a Flag officer's command."[46]

The infuriated Admiral wrote to the Admiralty Board demanding a court-martial, but this was turned down by the Board on the grounds that no censure had been passed on his conduct. Napier then wrote to Aberdeen, who replied that he had just resigned from the Premiership (January 30, 1855) and could therefore do nothing about it. Completely frustrated, Napier then turned to the Duke of Newcastle, who merely told him that since this was a naval question it was outside his jurisdiction.[47]

Not to be silenced, Napier carried the matter to the public. In an address at the Mansion House and in subsequent addresses in Parliament, to which he had been elected as the representative of Southwark, he denounced Graham and the Admiralty Board. The burden of these speeches was that the Baltic fleet was poorly manned and badly disciplined; that many ships in his fleet were unseaworthy; that he had been ordered to attack impregnable fortresses; that Graham had sent him "long jesuitical" and insulting letters.

There is absolutely no evidence to support Napier's charge that his fleet was in any respect inadequate. The Press uniformly praised Graham for the splendid fleet he had got in readiness; the Sebastopol Committee, investigating the Government's conduct of the war, found nothing to criticize and much to praise in Graham's Baltic fleet preparations; Yonge, as we have seen, declared that for striking power "it had never been surpassed;" and Napier himself had described his fleet (before he left for the Baltic) as a splendid one.

The charge that he had been ordered to attack impregnable fortresses is simply untrue. The *Admiralty Papers* contain no such orders; nor do the *Graham* or *Napier Papers.* He was directed to blockade the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia and to undertake warlike operations, and was given the greatest possible discretionary powers in carrying out these operations. But he was not ordered to attack any fort except that of Bomarsund. And, when the latter attack

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45 *Napier Papers,* IX (Br. Mus. Add. Mss., 40026), p. 283.
46 *Admiralty Papers* (Adm. Sec. Out-Letters, Naval Book, Pol. and Secret Branch), 2/1702, p. 347–348.
47 Cited in Earp, *Baltic War,* 566.

was made, despite the fact that Napier had definitely pronounced it impregnable, it had fallen with ludicrous ease.

No student of Nineteenth Century English history would doubt Graham's ability to write "long jesuitical" letters, but in this case his letters were anything but long and "jesuitical." They were, in fact, so short, sharp and direct that they could not possibly have been misunderstood—even by Napier.

At the time Napier was appointed to the command, Graham knew that he might have difficulty with the querulous old Admiral, who had begged for the appointment, and for that reason was patient in dealing with him. But Napier's constant complaints, his apparent cowardice (he always faced "dense" fogs, "frightful" gales, "impregnable" fortresses—"as strong as Toulon!"), his refusal to obey orders or to take advice, his inability or unwillingness to cooperate amicably with the French officers or with his own, and his arrogance in his dealings with the Admiralty Board, not only exhausted Graham's patience, but left him with no alternative but to order him to strike his flag.

For four or five months Napier managed to keep his dispute with the Admiralty, (intertwined as it was with a shift in ministry and with the public criticism of the war effort) before the country. But he carried it too far and by the spring of 1855 the Press, especially the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* were severely criticising the House for wasting time listening to him. And as soon as a new admiral in the Baltic captured Sweaborg in the summer of 1855 the public lost all interest in Napier. The whole affair was very properly buried by a priceless quip in *Punch.* The electors of Southwark, to assuage the wounded feelings of the Admiral, gave a party for him and presented him with an admiral's hat. "A piece of the most sublime mockery," wrote *Punch,* "to present a hat to a man who has completely lost his head."[48]

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[48] *Punch,* XXXI, 222.

The Theatre in Early Kansas City

In the nineteenth century, as the various types of frontier moved westward across the American continent, one of the cultural institutions that kept close to the outer fringe of civilization was the theatre. The frontier inhabitants in all parts of the West craved entertainment. They supported local dramatic organizations, patronized variety halls, welcomed visiting troupes of all kinds, built theatres and later established opera houses. As the pioneer population poured into the prairie and plains settlements of the middle west the theatre soon made its appearance.

The frontier line of settlement crossed the Mississippi in the forties and fifties, and large numbers of emigrants made their way to the Pacific. The Missouri River came to be regarded by overland travelers as the dividing line between the East and the West. Along its banks various settlements developed, some of which became outfitting posts for overland companies in preparation for their long trek west. At the bend of that muddy and turgid stream, where, in the words of Thomas Hart Benton, a "rocky bluff meets and turns aside the sweeping current of this mighty river, here, where the Missouri, pursuing her southwestward course for nearly two thousand miles, turns eastward to meet the Mississippi,"[1] arose the settlement of Kansas City.

Beginning as a fur trading post as early as 1821, the site of the future metropolis was first surveyed by a land and townsite company for speculative purposes in 1838, at which time it was reported to have a store, a saloon, and several shanties. A second survey in the spring of 1846 stimulated the sale of town lots, increasing the number of inhabitants to approximately seven hundred. Boomed further by the Mexican War and the beginnings of the California gold rush, its population was reduced to only three hundred in 1851 by a severe epidemic of cholera.[2] The village grew slowly, and when the Territory of Kansas was opened for settlement in 1854 and emigrants disembarked from steamboats at the various Missouri River towns on their way to "save Kansas," an observer, in describing the settlement at that time, said:

[1] *Kansas City Star*, December 14, 1906.

[2] Charles C. Spalding, *Annals of the City of Kansas City and the Western Plains*, Kansas City, Missouri, 1857, Events of 1851.

I will never forget the depression I felt when I first had a view of the town, then containing about 500 inhabitants. All the business was done on the River front, and the buildings were old and dilapidated, the sidewalks unpaved, and the streets muddy and cut up with ruts by heavy freight wagons. The people were of the lowest type of frontiersmen, and many of them Mexicans and halfbreeds . . . I found the place full of immigrants on their way to Kansas . . . I was unable to secure a bed at the hotel, but was allowed to spread blankets on the floor for myself and family.[3]

In 1855 an eastern pictorial magazine presented an ink sketch of the river town and reported it to be "a place of considerable business and to embrace all the elements of future greatness."[4] During the Pike's Peak gold rush, Kansas City and Westport Landing, whose histories are interwoven, grew into a settlement of considerable size, until in 1860 the population numbered more than 4,000 inhabitants.

When the first theatrical performance was presented in Kansas City is not known, although the first press announcement of one appeared late in May, 1856,[5] when a small advertisement on the editorial page of a local newspaper carried the statement that, on Monday 23, a joint entertainment consisting of Mabie's Menagerie, Stone's Circus,[6] and Tyler's Indian Exhibit would be presented.[7] Whether or not the joint presentation was given, there apparently

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[3] J. R. McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society,* VIII, 227–250; Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier,* Denver, 1893, 356, gives a description of Kansas City in the late fifties, and Walker D. Wyman, The Missouri River Towns in the Westward Movement, (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1935,) contains considerable material on the early development of the city.

[4] *Ballou's Pictorial Magazine,* Boston, Saturday August 5, 1855.

[5] *Kansas City Enterprise,* May 31, 1856.

[6] The circus, with its broad and spectacular appeal, was always popular on the frontier, and appeared in Kansas City in these early years on several occasions. There is record of two circuses in the summer of 1857, that of Herr Dreisach and Company on May 12, and the performance of Sands, Nathan Company, American and French Circus on June 27. In 1858, North's National Circus was in town on May 26; the Spaulding Rogers Company presented a mixed tent production on July 28 consisting of a "Great Monkey Circus, A Burlesque Dramatic Troupe," and a company of minstrels; and on August 6 Washburn's American Colossal Circus gave a well attended performance. In the period between 1856 and 1880, thirty-eight circuses are recorded in Kansas City, offering eighty-four performances. Jean Rietz, History of the Theatre of Kansas City from the Beginning until 1900, (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1929,) I, 11–12. (This will be cited hereinafter as Rietz.)

[7] Coup says that it was not until 1851 that a circus and a menagerie were exhibited together at one price of admission, and owned by the same proprietor. Before that time the circus and the menagerie were separate and distinct attractions and the menagerie was only exhibited in the daytime. W. A. Coup, *Sawdust and Spangles,* Chicago, 1901, 140.

is no available record. The next published statement of a local attraction did not appear until June, 1858, when the following advertisement was printed in the local press:

For one night only / The Aleghanians / J. M. Boulard, Basso; Miss Lizzie Yale, Soprano / E. H. Lock, Tenor; J. S. Leach, Tenor / M. Halam, Pianist and Violinist / First Grand Concert / First Methodist Church / Admission Fifty Cents / P. A. Clark, Business Manager; J. M. Boulard, Director.[8]

Kansas City had its first theatrical season in 1858.[9] Early in April the press announced the coming of Christy's Minstrels,[10] and during the last part of the month the D. L. Scott Theatre Troupe, the first legitimate theatrical company to appear in Kansas City, presented a number of plays. Although the details of the engagement are not available, the *Western Journal of Commerce* on May 1, 1858 carried a brief statement on its editorial page under the heading "Theatre" which reads as follows:

Mr. D. L. Scott's theatrical troupe have been performing in our city the past week and we must say, we were taken entirely by surprise by the superior acting and versatility evidenced, with their numbers. We can recommend his performances as legitimate and well worth seeing, even by Old Theatre goers.[11]

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[8] *Kansas City Enterprise*, June 6, 1858. While this seems to be the only time that a theatrical performance was advertised to appear in a place of worship without church benefit, it was not uncommon for amateur performances to be presented by religious groups in which the proceeds were divided. Church opposition to the theatre in Kansas City was negligible, Rietz, 12–13.

[9] There is evidence of various types of social activity in Kansas City by 1858. The Fourth of July of that year was celebrated to an extent hitherto unknown in the frontier settlement. Three thousand persons gathered in a grove in McGee's Addition with Banta's Band playing "stirring music" from ten o'clock in the morning until evening. One account tells how Colonel McGee bought a buffalo for the barbacue. The animal got loose and the crowd chased it for a mile or more before it was captured. The celebration ended with a ball at the Metropolitan Hotel. On November 18 of the same year, the first charity ball on record took place with tickets selling for one dollar and fifty cents. On the following November 26, a second charity ball was held. Mayor Wilton J. Payne appealed to all inhabitants to attend, stating that: "persons who choose may go in character, as several of the young men are anxious to have a fancy dress ball." Carrie Westlake Whitney, *Kansas City*, Chicago, 1908, I, 657–658; Phoebe Peck, The Theatre in Kansas City, (M. A. thesis, University of Kansas City, 1940,) 6–8. (This will be cited hereinafter as Peck.)

[10] *Western Journal of Commerce*, April 7, 1858. The first and only reference to a hall at this time is found in the local *Journal* for April 17, 1858, when a ball was advertised to be held at Metropolitan Hall. This was probably operated in connection with the Metropolitan Hotel mentioned above.

[11] The use of the words "Old Theatre goers" by the editor is significant. In most of the early western settlements, many of the pioneer inhabitants were ardent patrons of the drama. They had attended the theatre in their eastern homes and welcomed theatrical performances on the frontier with enthusiasm. Rietz, 16.

On June 18, 1858, the Tedge and Morrison Theatre Troupe advertised that it would present that evening at the courthouse "the beautiful comedy *How to Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,* to be concluded by the farce *Kiss in the Dark.*" M'lle Aubrey was to present a dance between the main play and the afterpiece.[12] Admission was fifty-cents and doors were to open at seven-thirty o'clock, with the curtain rising at eight. The next day, after reporting that "the attendance last night was good, and the company acquited [sic] themselves to the entire satisfaction of the house," the local press announced that *The Stranger* would be presented, to be concluded by the afterpiece, *Betsy Baker.* The notice spoke of *The Stranger* as "a play which always draws and which no company has before attempted here."[13] The troupe remained through the evening of June 28, offering in its repertoire *The Lady of Lyons, Black Eyed Susan, The Irish Heiress, The Hunchback, The Return to Moscow,* and *Michael Earle,* with the afterpieces *Rough Diamond, Nicodemus or Don't Be Skeered, The Jealous Husband, Dead Shot,* and *The Young Widow.* On June 21 the afterpiece *A Day in Kansas City,* which was no doubt a standard production adjusted to fit the local situation, was received enthusiastically by the audience.[14] Each evening's performance included a dance by M'lle Aubrey.

On June 23 Scott's Theatrical Troupe advertised for a return engagement, and promised an "excellent bill" at the courthouse on the following Saturday night. The editor described the program, which, in addition to plays, was to include a favorite dance or two, a song in character by Mrs. Scott and Miss Maggie, and music by the Silver Cornet Band. His comments regarding the company were very favorable:[15]

> *Haversac* is an old favorite of ours, and as produced by Scott's Company cannot fail to give satisfaction to our lovers of the drama. The laughable farce *Paddy O'Rourke* always brings down the house . . . Mrs. Scott in that piece takes five distinct characters—and as the boy—she never fails to be greeted with bursts of applause. In fact she has long since demonstrated

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[12] Frontier programs usually consisted of a full length play and an afterpiece with dance and musical numbers between.

[13] *The Stranger* was probably the most successful of Kotzebue's plays. It was first introduced to American audiences at the Park Theatre in New York by William Dunlap in 1798.

[14] *Western Journal of Commerce,* June 18-26, 1858. *A Day in Kansas City* was a type of play popular on the frontier. Three plays with local allusions were performed in Frank's Hall in 1868. They were: *Guerilla Raid, Keno or a Night in Kansas City,* and *Jenny Lind in Kansas City.*

[15] *Western Journal of Commerce,* June 23, 1858.

that in that character at least, she can't be beat on the western stage . . . Let us turn out one and all, and give them a full house, and show them that theatricals are appreciated in this city.

On June 22 a musical troupe advertised as the "Ancient Druid Ox Horn Players, featuring Little Jamie, the Infant Musical Wonder." The performance was to be held at "Large Hall in Teill's new building, two doors below the post office on Third Street." The hall was being fitted up for the occasion, and the admission was to be fifty cents.[16] The courthouse continued to be used for theatrical productions during 1859, although offerings were not numerous. Two minstrel troupes appeared: Rohner's on March 10, and Campbell's on April 13 to April 16. From June 3 to June 7, the Cleveland Family Troupe Comedy Company appeared, with J. C. Frederichs listed as the star. They presented *The Swiss Cottage, A Day in Paris,* and *The Soldier of the Revolution, or Love in '76.* With the closing of the Cleveland Family's engagement, the courthouse was no longer used for theatrical purposes.[17]

Lockridge Hall, erected in 1859 by Thomas J. Lockridge on Fifth and Main Streets, was the first public hall in Kansas City. It was leased for a time in the spring and summer of 1860 by the managers Langrische and Allen. Several amateur programs were presented there and a number of musical productions, among which were the Peak Family of Bell Ringers, the Siegrist and Zanfretta Troupe, and a concert by Madame Anna Bishop.[18] On the day following the Bishop concert, July 17, 1860, the editor of the *Journal of Commerce* spoke in glowing terms of the program, but explained the small attendance by attributing it to the "malicious and groundless reports that have been spread by interested persons of the want of safety to Lockridge Hall . . ." The so-called "interested persons" referred to in the statement were probably the owners of Concert Hall, running at the time in competition. The rumors against Lockridge Hall apparently were effective as its last perform-

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16 *Ibid,* June 22, 1858. This is the only time that Large Hall appears in press advertisements. Rietz, 19–20.

17 Files of the *Western Journal of Commerce,* April and June, 1859.

18 These early theatres in Kansas City sheltered both minor and major troupes as well as outstanding stars. Madame Anna Bishop was a prominent singer at this time. Born in London in 1816, she came to America in 1847. After returning home she came to America for a second visit in 1859, during which time she toured the country widely, making several tours through the west. The appearance of Anna Bishop in 1860 would be the equivalent of a concert by Lily Pons today. T. Allston Brown, *History of the American Stage, 1733 to 1870,* New York, 1870, 383.

ance was held on July 28, 1860, after which it disappeared from press announcements.[19]

In August, 1860 the arrival of the steamboat *Banjo* with its troupe of the "World's Star Minstrels" was announced. Included in this company were Sam Gardner, B. A. Cotton, J. W. Adams, Nick Foster, George W. Hill, P. Chatfield, T. Allen, J. Wainbold, and P. Campbell. The troupe presented programs on September 6 and 7 at regular admission prices and played to large audiences.[20] In September the Thalia Society presented an amateur performance in Spier's Hall on Main Street. It was given as a benefit for Mrs. Dina Schion, with a free ball at the close of the program.

Long's Hall, located on Main Street between Fifth and Sixth, was built by Adam Long in 1860, who used the lower portion of the building as a grocery store.[21] This was leased or rented to theatrical troupes over a period of years. It was first reported in the press in September and October, 1860, when Ada and Emma Webb appeared.[22] The hall was especially important from 1863 to 1867, when numerous theatrical troupes presenting legitimate drama as well as all types of variety entertainment appeared.

There were no theatrical offerings in Kansas City in 1861 and 1862 due to the Civil War. There was a slight revival in 1863. The Union Theatre Troupe, managed by John Templeton, appeared in Long's Hall daily for a season lasting from July 29 to August 29, offering a regular play and afterpiece, and again from February 1 to February 27, 1864. In its extensive repertoire were many productions long popular on the frontier: *The Lady of Lyons, Jack Sheppard, Black Eyed Susan, The Stranger, Don Caesar de Bazan,*

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[19] *Western Journal of Commerce* July 12, 17, 28, 1860; Rietz 20–25; Whitney I, 224–26; *Kansas City Star*, November 11, 1884; *Kansas City Times*, June 4, 1920. According to one report, Lockridge Hall had been erected over a public sewer where the land was uneven, which caused the building to settle rather badly. Since the building was constructed of brick there was probably some danger.

[20] *Western Journal of Commerce*, August 20, 1860. This was the well known showboat *Banjo* active on the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers during the mid-century. While this is the only available press announcement of a showboat appearing in Kansas City, Rietz's study on the early theatre there expresses the opinion that since much theatrical advertising was done by handbills, no doubt such performances did occur frequently. Rietz, 24.

[21] The building was a long one, with a stage at one end of the upper story. No attempt was made to fit it up as a real theatre.

[22] The Webb sisters were born in New Orleans, Emma in 1843 and Ada in 1845, and both made their debut there, appearing with their mother in drawing room entertainments in 1858. They visited California in 1859, playing both in the cities and the mountain towns. They traveled widely in the west. Brown, *History of the American Stage*, 383.

Ingomar, Chamber of Death, Dick Turpin, The Serious Family, Taming of the Shrew, Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady, Othello, The Toodles, Fanchon, The Hidden Hand, and *The Marble Heart.* From October 26 to December 16, 1863, the National Theatre Company occupied Long's Hall for a successful season, followed by the Haight Theatrical Company.

The summer of 1864 was quiet theatrically, but from October 7 to October 16 the Leavenworth Company appeared at Long's Hall. No further activity is recorded until Frank Howard's Atheneum Combination Dramatic Company presented its offerings in two engagements between September 23 and 30 and October 6 and 13, 1865. The Berry and Arnand Troupe occupied the hall from January 2 to 10, 1866. The Howard Theatre Company managed by Howard, Bowen, and Catterton, played at Long's Hall from April 9 to May 16, 1866, and although popular plays were offered, the company was said to have been badly balanced and unrehearsed. On May 2, 1866, the local press related that since there was "nobody present at Long's Hall last night, there was no performance. Howard's Theatre is about played out. The troupe, which is of no account, we learn is going to Leavenworth next week."[23] The Breslau Troupe, headed by Mrs. Melissa Breslau, played a successful season from June 4 to July 2, 1866, attracting large audiences in spite of the intense heat. The repertoire of the company included such plays as *East Lynne, Lucretia Borgia, Macbeth, Othello, Ingomar, Camille,* and *Deborah.* The engagement of the Graff Family Theatrical Troupe from January 13 to 25, 1867, was the last major appearance at Long's Hall.[24] The price of admission to Long's was usually fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children for which, according to the local press, the public could be assured that "good order would be preserved."[25]

Frank's Hall,[26] located on the corner of Main and Fifth Streets,

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[23] *Western Journal of Commerce,* May 2, 1866.

[24] Rietz, 1, 25–29; Whitney, 225–227. Long's Hall was used for several years more for variety entertainment.

[25] *Daily Journal of Commerce,* July 29, 1863. For some presentations the admission charge was increased to seventy-five cents.

[26] Frank's Hall was in no way a real theatre. It was a rather long narrow building with a small stage at one end. The building was three stories high, with a sixty foot frontage on Main Street, and ninety-five feet in length. The entire third floor was devoted to the hall. *Western Journal of Commerce,* December 19, 1878. Its entrance was a long stairway on the outside of the rear of the building. There were no dressing rooms and players made up before coming to the hall. Peck, 11; *Kansas City Star,* November 5, 1922.

was Kansas City's most important playhouse from the time of its opening, February 8, 1867, until the opening of the Coates Opera House in October, 1870. The first press notice of Frank's Hall appeared in the *Journal of Commerce* of February 6, 1867, as follows:

> Frank's Hall / Opening of the New Theatre / Friday, February 8, 1867 / Complimentary Benefit to / Miss Mary Graff / The Great Comic Opera Star / Presenting / The Fairies / Admission Fifty Cents

Numerous theatre companies played at Frank's Hall during the years of its existence, 1867–1878, although the most active period in legitimate drama was from 1867 to 1870. One of the companies was that of W. J. S. Potter, whose first season lasted from April 12 to May 2, 1867, and included such plays as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ten Nights in the Bar Room.* Under the management of Dan Russell several troupes appeared, such as the Post and Rogers Dramatic Company, Frank Frayne's Dramatic Company, Ben De Bar's Opera Troupe and Mill's Dramatic Company. Among the others were numbered the Tom Thumb Troupe, the Siamese Twins and the Mary Gladstone Company of English Players. Among the prominent actors and actresses who appeared at Frank's Hall were George D. Chaplin, Fanny Morgan Phelps, Charlotte Crampton, H. N. Gotthold and Ann Ward Tiffany.[27] A story is related that when Mary Gladstone and her English players were in Kansas City, the members of her troupe went on a strike in the middle of the week although a large number of seats had been sold in advance. Since Miss Gladstone was popular with the public, the strike failed to meet with their approval. A few days later the strikers announced through the press that they would hold a benefit for themselves in order that they might be able to get out of town.[28]

Colonel Kersey Coates, a prominent citizen of Kansas City,[29] came to the conclusion in 1868 that his home town should have a

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[27] *Kansas City Times,* February 7, 1907; Rietz, I, 30–31; Peck, 11–13.

[28] *The Kansas City Star,* November 5, 1922.

[29] Colonel Kersey Coates, a Pennsylvania Quaker who had been a high school teacher, came west in 1855 not long after the opening of Kansas Territory. Representing a syndicate of Philadelphia investors, his plans had been to locate either in Lawrence or Leavenworth. He was so favorably impressed, however, with the steamboat and railroad possibilities of Kansas City that he decided to remain there, although he was strongly anti-slavery in feeling and this area was pro-slavery in sentiment. He invested heavily in real estate on the bluff and built a hotel and the well known Coates Opera House, which for three decades was the town's main claim to culture. Darrell Garwood, *Crossroads of America; The Story of Kansas City,* New York, 1948, 117–119.

real theatre, and determined to erect an adequate playhouse. The foundation was laid in the spring of that year on what is now the corner of Tenth Street and Broadway. The spired building of brick was two stories, with the theatre in the second floor, and was said to have cost more than $100,000. When it was opened in October, 1870, it was termed by one editor "the finest theatre between the Mississippi River and the Pacific," and later, "the largest and finest theatre west of Chicago."[30] After its opening, Frank's Hall, unable to compete with its newer and more modern rival, became a second-rate playhouse, and was compelled to restrict its offerings to occasional lectures, minstrel shows, and variety productions.[31] The opening of Coates Opera House in 1870 marks the close of the frontier period in the theatrical history of Kansas City.[32]

The offerings of legitimate drama in Kansas City in the period from 1858 to 1870 were numerous and varied. Many of the older frontier favorites were presented. In the twelve year period the most popular plays, based upon the number of times offered, were as follows: *The Stranger, Fanchon, the Cricket, The Serious Family,* and *The Lady of Lyons* were each presented nine times; *Kiss in the Dark* and *East Lynne* were each offered on eight occasions, while *Black Eyed Susan,* and *The Toodles* were presented seven times. *The Ticket of Leave Man, The Honeymoon,* and *Don Ceasar de Bazan* were offered six times; *The Marble Heart, The French Spy, Leah the Forsaken* and *Camille,* five times; *Rosedale, Jack Sheppard, The Hunchback,* and *The Two Orphans,* four times; *Ingomar, Ten Nights in the Bar Room, Colleen Bawn, Queen Elizabeth, Richelieu, Money,* and *Under the Gaslight,* three times, while *Enoch Arden, Guy Mannering, Love in Humble Life, The Spectre Bridegroom, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Loan of a Lover, The Octoroon, La Tour de Nesle, Rip Van Winkle,* and *Mary Stuart* were presented on two occasions. The plays of Shakespeare were popular in Kansas City as the listings in the press indicate. *Richard III* and *Othello* were both presented on six occasions, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth,* five times each,

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30 *Kansas City Star,* February 1, 1901; March 31, April 12, 1935; *Western Journal of Commerce,* September 11, October 1, 8, 1870. The first performance in Coates Opera House was Bulwer-Lytton's *Money,* presented on October 8, 1870. F. C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians,* Columbia, Missouri, 1927, II, 1003.

31 On December 18, 1878, Frank's Hall was demolished when its roof collapsed under the weight of an extremely heavy snow. *Western Journal of Commerce,* December 19, 1878; *Kansas City Star,* February 1, 1901; March 31, 1935.

32 The population of Kansas City increased from 15,064 in 1866 to 32,260 in 1870.

Romeo and Juliet three times, *The Merchant of Venice* twice and *The Taming of the Shrew, King Lear, Much Ado About Nothing* and *Winter's Tale* at least once.[33]

All types of entertainment were presented in Kansas City in the early years of its history. There were individual and group programs consisting of lectures, ventriloquists, magicians, humorists, panoramas, steriopticon views, "freaks", dancers, acrobatic and gymnastic troupes, minstrel shows, choruses, bell ringers, and every possible kind of musical production. These programs were presented at first in the same theatres and halls offering legitimate drama, but as time went on halls and theatres catering to this type of entertainment were built. At times the better variety theatres closed a two hour variety period with a full length play. Some of these plays were adjusted to variety house procedures, and often special plays were written for the concert hall stage.

Notices of large numbers of minor halls and theatres emphasizing variety programs appear in the Kansas City press in the late sixties and early seventies. Since some of these are only mentioned a few times it would seem that many of them were short-lived. While even the more important concert and variety halls often did not advertise, mention of these are to be found in the local press announcements. Beginning in 1868 there are scattered references to specific variety theatres. In January and February, 1868, the *Journal of Commerce* carried an advertisement of a variety house on Main Street "near the Junction", of which Charley Swift was the proprietor. It stated that "a first class performance was given every evening made up of Songs, Dances, Banjo Solos, and in fact everything to make a pleasant place of amusement, with good liquor and cigars served up in bon ton style."[34]

The need for more satisfactory places for the presentation of entertainment is indicated by an announcement made through the local press early in December, 1868, that the Leavenworth Varieties had opened in Concert Hall, "in the basement under the Kansas City

[33] The listing of plays given here is based on Rietz, II, *passim*. The name of William Shakespeare was held in high regard in the west. The oratory, melodrama, and blood-stirring violence in many of his plays appealed to the frontiersman. Many a western spectator knew the lines of a Shakespearean play being offered as well or better than the actors and to the frontiersman a knowledge of his plays was often his only cultural asset. One of the chief reasons for the interest of the westerner was his craving for pure entertainment; another being a desire to see plays he had seen earlier in the East. Often, on the frontier, companies would present scenes from several Shakespearean plays in one program. Esther C. Dunn, *Shakespeare in America*, New York, 1939, Chapter X, 175–204.

[34] *Daily Journal of Commerce*, January 9, 15; February 12, 19, 1868.

Savings Bank, on the corner of Fourth and Delaware streets . . ." and "will be removed to more commodious quarters as soon as they can be secured."[35] In March, 1869, the same editor mentioned the opening of a "New Varieties Theatre at 219 Main Street the night before with a crowded house." The statement continues as follows:[36]

> The bill was lengthy and varied, and the performance gave great satisfaction. Among the star performers are our old friends "M'lle Aubrey and O. C. Brace. One needs a pair of braces when listening to his funny peculiarities.

Probably the most important variety house in early Kansas City was the Walnut Street Theatre, which went by various names during its period of existence. Opening on January 23, 1871, as the Walnut Street Theatre with William Carroll as manager, it maintained a fairly large company during its first season, offering legitimate plays as well as general variety, acrobatic, minstrel, and gymnastic troupes, pantomime and special song and dance acts.[37] In November, 1872, it went into the hands of new management, and was renamed the People's Theatre. The local press under the heading, "New Theatre", reported that D. R. Allen, "a gentleman of many years' experience as a stage manager," had leased the theatres, and planned to remodel and repair it, and "to elevate the tone of the playhouse and make it into one of the best and most legitimate variety shows in the West."[38] The People's Theatre changed hands in February, 1873, and again in July, 1873. In March, 1874, it changed managers again and was renamed the Orpheum, opening with H. F. Schultz as business manager and H. Chapman as director of amusements. The following program was advertised:[39]

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35 *Western Journal of Commerce*, December 9, 1868.

36 *Daily Journal of Commerce*, March 26, 1869.

37 During the late sixties emphasis upon variety entertainment and mixed programs increased in Kansas City, following a nation-wide trend. An English critic, George Henry Lewis, was quoted as saying: "Unless a frank recognition of this inevitable tendency causes decided separation of the drama, which aims at art, from those theatrical performances which aim only at amusement of a lower kind (just as classical music keeps aloof from all contact and all rivalry with comic songs and sentimental ballads), and unless this separation takes place in a decisive restriction of one or more theatres to the special performance of comedy and poetic drama, the final disappearance of the art is near at hand." Norman Hapgood, *The Stage in America, 1897–1900*, New York, 1901, 136. Kansas City answered the problem in 1869 by finishing the construction of an opera house in 1870, devoted almost exclusively to legitimate drama and higher type production. The real variety theatre growth took place in Kansas City after 1870.

38 *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 30, 1872.

39 *Ibid*, March 14, 1874.

Open each evening with a first class company of star artists. First appearance of Miss Lou Gregory, the charming Serio-Comic Vocalist; Miss Kathleen O'Neil, character Vocalist and Actress; Johnny Manning, the champion Clog Dancer; Miss Lizzie Shelton, the beautiful Danseuse, assisted by a talented company.

Throughout its era of existence this well known playhouse was well patronized and offered a comparatively high standard of variety entertainment in order to meet the competition furnished by the Coates Opera House and other places of entertainment. In this playhouse, as well as in other variety halls, a great deal of entertainment was offered to the public for a very nominal price. This factor, along with a broad general appeal, accounted for its popularity. The opening prices were thirty-five cents for general admission and fifty cents for reserved seats, while at the People's and Orpheum prices were increased to fifty cents for general admission and seventy-five cents for box seats. Some of the local reference plays presented that caused considerable comment were *Kansas City By Gaslight* on April 30 and May 1, 1871, and *The Streets of Kansas City* on May 22, 1872.[40]

The Theatre Comique on Fourth Street between Main and Delaware was first mentioned in the press on July 22, 1872[41] when it opened its first season with a "Mammouth Troupe from the East." The music, under the supervision of a Mr. T. Williams, was a featured part of the entertainment, and, according to the press report, "with the theatre fitted up in the most elegant and tasteful style, perfectly ventilated, they offer their patrons comfort and enjoyment unsurpassed by any like institution in the West."[42] It was a straight variety house and did not attempt legitimate drama, often advertising under the title of the "largest Comique west of Chicago." Its programs followed a more or less set pattern. There were specialty changes every week, as well as a stock company, which changed every few months, furnishing part of the program. Replacements usually came from St. Louis or New Orleans.

Although the Comique was advertised as "a high toned and legitimate place of amusement" its audiences were predominately men and many of its press notices stated that it desired "patronage from

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[40] Files of the *Western Journal of Commerce*, 1870–1874; Rietz, I, 37–38.

[41] A notice concerning a playhouse called the Mechanic's Institute appeared in the press from time to time between 1871 and 1873, offering concerts, readings, lectures, and other mixed programs. Ole Bull, the great Norwegian violinist, presented a concert there on April 8, 1872.

[42] *Western Journal of Commerce*, July 22, 1872.

only the male sex." It represented the so-called "free and easy" type of amusement place popular at that time in the East. Vendors loudly dispensed "Wine, Liquors and Cigars" during intermissions and there was much rough and ready conversation among the patrons regarding the female performers. The price of admission to the Comique was fifty cents on the main floor and twenty-five cents in the gallery. The theatre often advertised by having the band play before the door just prior to opening time, while a tight rope walker performed on a wire over the street without the precaution of a net below.[43]

Wherever the Germans settled on the frontier they were interested in the theatre and in musical activities. In many western towns they organized theatres, made up largely of amateurs. The Turner societies were members of the American Turnerbund, whose purpose was "the cultivation of the perfect man physically and mentally." The German population was not large in Kansas City nor did it have an organized theatre there. Germans did, however, organize a Turner Society for the usual "health and social reasons" in 1858, first using a small frame building near Fifth Street and Main. They built a new hall in 1864 near Tenth and Main and in 1872 erected a larger building on Twelfth and Oak. The society was active in amateur theatricals and in musical programs, many of which were open to the public.[44]

The press reports on the Kansas City theatre were much the same as in other frontier communities. The various theatrical troupes carried little advertising in the local press, and most of the information concerning these early thespians comes from news reports.[45] When the Tedge and Morrison Theatre Troupe was playing at the courthouse in the summer of 1858 the *Journal of Commerce* took the company to task for not being sufficiently interested in having its productions written up to give passes to reporters. The editor said he had been:

> . . . indebted to friends for our theatrical notices since the present troupe has been in the city, and as he was absent last night, or according to a private notion of our mind, minus the 'four-bits', no notice of the play was

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[43] Files of the *Western Journal of Commerce*, 1872–1875; Rietz, I, 38–41; Peck, 12–16.

[44] *Kansas City Star*, March 31, April 7, 1935.

[45] Other early theatres mentioned were the Fourth Street Varieties, the Kansas City Opera House on Delaware Street, the Olympic on Main Street, the Tivoli Garden on the south end of Main, and the Adelphi on the corner of Fourth and Walnut, the latter advertising at times as the Ladies Theatre. Rietz, I, 19, 33, 34, 47. Peck, 12–17.

handed in. The management would do well to hire a critic, as they seem to have an invincible repugnance to the admission of a member of the press.[46]

Local press reports were largely tolerant and friendly, and only in a few instances were companies or actors criticised adversely.

In general these adverse comments arose from the fact that there were certain types of entertainment that even a western frontier community would not tolerate. Local opposition to dancing the Can-Can in a Kansas City burlesque or variety hall became so serious that late in December, 1869, a variety presentation being offered at Frank's Hall by L. A. Spaulding was closed by the police on moral grounds, since it violated a city ordinance against the exhibition of "lewd and vulgar entertainment" which included a requirement that "a female's limbs must be covered to below the knee." At the trial the next day Spaulding was fined $75 and costs, although at a special called session of the town council the "indulgent city fathers" remitted the fine. That certain elements in the local population were not satisfied with the proceedings is evident when it is noted that early in January, 1870, the Spaulding show was again raided when the Can-Can was being offered, and the whole troupe arrested. A local editor reported on January 11, 1870, that Spaulding was fined $16 and costs, for "Can-Canning without a license."[47]

That the early Kansas City theatre audiences should consist largely of men is to be expected. Due in part to the predominance of men in a frontier community, and to the fact of the rough and crude character of such a population, few women attended the theatre. As late as 1868, the scarcity of feminine spectators at a performance at Frank's Hall brought the following comment from the press:[48]

There was a fair audience in the hall last night, but not as 'fair' as we would like to see it. A female face dotted here and there in the audience like a pumpkin blossom in a cornfield wonderfully improves the appearance of the crowd, tones down the bearded lords of creation and brightens up the whole picture. The house last night sadly needed a few more roses among its bed of thorns.

There is evidence that women participated in amateur theatricals at Turner's Hall and possibly at Lockridge Hall in the early days.

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46 *Western Journal of Commerce*, June 22, 1858.

47 *Western Journal of Commerce*, December, 29, 30, 1869; January 11, 1869. The insistence that lewd shows and exhibitions be eliminated came from other sources than the press, which did not appear to take the matter seriously.

48 *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 13, 1868.

As a rule, at the variety halls, women were not wanted, and respectable women did not attend. In the early seventies there were several examples of certain playhouses using the title "Ladies Theatre" in an attempt to secure a mixed audience. In 1872, when D. R. Allen took over the Walnut Street Theatre and remodeled it, changing its name to the People's Theatre, he explained in the press that he planned "to elevate the tone" of the playhouse and make it into a "high class" establishment.[49]

The Coates Opera House, opened in Kansas City in 1870, was regarded as a respectable place of amusement, and women began to attend regularly. From the beginning this house featured matinees for women and children. That women generally attended is indicated by suggestions printed by the management on programs, under the heading, "To Our Patrons."[50]

> In deference to the expressed wishes of many regular patrons of the Coates Opera House, including both men and women, the management respectfully asks that ladies remove their hats during the performance in this theatre. This request is not made in the spirit of a ruling, but as a favor, which, if granted, will bring equal benefit to all.

Although male audiences predominated in the early theatres in Kansas City, there seems to have been little serious disorder or interference in the various places of entertainment. There are occasional references to minor disturbances in the press, which were usually explained by the statement that the person or persons responsible for the trouble were drunk, and had been promptly removed from the building. Numerous statements are to be found in the press by various managers, promising the "preservation of strictest order." During the Civil War the following announcement was printed regarding a production at Long's Hall: "We understand" wrote the editor, "that the commander of the post has detailed a guard to be stationed there so the public may rely upon the strictest order being maintained."[51] On July 29, 1863, the *Western Journal of Commerce* in a theatrical announcement stressed the point that "good order will be maintained in Long's Hall."

HAROLD E. BRIGGS and
ERNESTINE BENNETT BRIGGS

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

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49 *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 30, 1872.
50 *Kansas City Star*, March 31, April 7, 1935.
51 *Western Journal of Commerce*, November 20, 1863.

Morales Writes a Letter to Melgarejo

The letter reproduced below, besides being a sample of the orthography of a Bolivian *caudillo,* is interesting because of its contents as well as because of the historical importance enjoyed by its writer and addressee. Agustín Morales, classified by Alcides Arguedas as a *caudillo bárbaro,*[1] had endeavored in 1850 to assassinate President Manuel Isidoro Belzu, who was ruling Bolivia during one of its more anarchical periods.[2] In 1864 he was excluded from the congress because of the death sentence still hanging over his head as the aftermath of the attempted assassination. In his defense before the legislative body, Morales disclaimed any aspirations to the presidency, an ambition not long concealed. As a colonel he helped to put down uprisings against Melgarejo in 1865. Although he wrote the letter from Ecuador to his *amigo* Melgarejo in 1867, he organized a conspiracy against him in 1869 and in the following year launched the revolt which resulted in the overthrow of his former chief. As president from January 15, 1871, until November 27, 1872, he governed in a thoroughly deplorable fashion, dying on the last named date at the hands of his own nephew.

The legendary General Mariano Melgarejo, another "barbarian chieftain," was of a bold, brutal, and undisciplined nature, fond of gambling, women, and liquor.[3] Angered by opposition, he would act like a homicidal maniac. Heading the forces which overthrew

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[1] See Alcides Arguedas, *Historia general de Bolivia (1809–1921)*, La Paz, 1922, 140–141, 150–151, 223, 229, 241, 255, 291, 296–329 and *La dictadura y la anarquía, Barcelona,* 1926, 126–127, 176–177, 211–213, 279, 286–292; Enrique Finot, *Nueva historia de Bolivia,* Buenos Aires, 1946, 260, 278–283; Alcibíades Guzmán, *Libertad o despotismo en Bolivia: El antimelgarejismo después de Melgarejo,* La Paz, 285–293.

[2] N. Andrew N. Cleven, *The Political Organization of Bolivia,* Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D. C., 1940, 120–121, states: "The history of the presidency of Bolivia contains a large number of tragedies. Of the twenty-five presidents between 1825 and 1925, two resigned voluntarily, three died while in office, nine were forced to resign, eight were assassinated, but not all while in office, and four died in exile."

[3] On Melgarejo, see Arguedas, *Historia general,* 166, 227, 232, 244–246, 251–295 and *La dictadura,* 24–25, 228–229, 251, 303–304, 322–326; Finot, 265–279; Guzmán, 178–281; Cleven, 118–121; Charles E. Chapman, "Melgarejo of Bolivia: An Illustration of Spanish American Dictatorships," *The Pacific Historical Review,* 1939, VIII, 37–45. Typical of the many books confounding facts and fiction in the story of this legendary figure is Tomás O'Connor D'Arlach's *El General Melgarejo: Dichos y hechos de este hombre célebre,* La Paz, 1947.

Achá's government (1864), he converted himself into the tyrannical master of Bolivia from December 28, 1864, until January 15, 1871. An ignorant man of little notion of government and exceedingly cruel while in an intoxicated state, his early life consisted of a series of treasons and felonies. His administration with no political program and with his constitution of 1868 as a tool for his dictatorial ambitions, faced, from the very outset, tough opposition from Belzu, who occupied the capital, La Paz, in 1865.[4] When the battle for this city took on a desperate character, Melgarejo penetrated into the palace where he shot in cold blood his rival for the presidency. He convoked the congress for the first time four years after instituting his personal government. His disasterous foreign policy caused Bolivia to lose an immense territory to Brazil. He made compulsory loans, debased the coinage, and plundered the Indians. In short, corruption was rampant, and the general only succeeded in retaining his power for six years by keeping his army constantly on the march to crush incipient rebellions. Driven from his native land by the revolution directed by Morales, Melgarejo met his death in Peru, assassinated by his mistress' brother.

The letter discloses that Morales, apparently to his great displeasure, finds himself relegated to a minor post in Guayaquil, Ecuador, probably in the capacity of consul. Melgarejo had undoubtedly appointed him to a far off post for the purpose of removing him from Bolivia, in this way forestalling conspiracies. He begins his letter by assuring Melgarejo that he is acting in good faith and by invoking justice on the part of the Bolivian president and government. Furthermore, he rather pointedly inquires if Melgarejo yet places confidence in the talebearers, thus adroitly conveying the impression that these were the persons directly responsible for his presence in Guayaquil, where he was needless either for commercial reasons or for serving Bolivians residing there. His few countrymen who had lived there in the past had succumbed to yellow fever, a plague that desolated that unhappy port, thereby bringing all business to a standstill and causing the other foreign consular employees to flee.[5]

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[4] Cleven, 114–167, in his chapter on "The National Government: The Executive," has an enormous number of details on the many Bolivian constitutions and the executives who sponsored them.

[5] Guayaquil continued with the unsavory reputation of being a pest hole for yellow fever until 1920. See Angel F. Rojas, *La novela ecuatoriana*, Colección Tierra Firme, México, 1948, 93. Understanding the character of Melgarejo one might readily suspect his ulterior intention in sending Morales to a well established center of pestilence, where previous "visitors" from Bolivia were known to have died of the fever.

Regarding political conditions in Ecuador, Morales gives an accurate though succinct account, adding several details not found in the Ecuadorian histories consulted. President Jerónimo Carrión y Palacio,[6] chosen personally by Gabriel García Moreno as his successor to the high office, served from September 7, 1865, to November 6, 1867, that is, eighteen days beyond the date of Morales' letter pointing to grievous trouble ahead. An inept politician, Carrión had unwittingly incurred the opposition of both the liberal and conservative parties by vesting his authority in the person of his prime minister, Dr. Manuel Bustamante. The latter, of a domineering and haughty nature, grasped within his hands the two portfolios of the treasury and internal and foreign affairs, refused to take directions from the party leader, García Moreno, and soon by his arbitrary acts motivated an open conflict with the congress. He ordered the arrest of several of its members, expecting by this step to prevent any retaliatory measures through lack of a quorum vote. This body on October 3, 1867, declared itself in permanent session, refusing to capitulate even though soldiers surrounded the palace and entered the legislative chambers. The following day Bustamante's resignation was read to the congress, which soon began consideration of the accusations that the former minister had violated the constitution in various ways.

Morales indicates that by October 20, Carrión was in complete disagreement with the congress, which was then accusing the chief executive of violation of the constitution. He had sent a battalion to dissolve the assembly. The president on his part had been angered by the congress for declaring itself in permanent session. After ordering the battalion to retire he drew up an official decree declaring the congress in recess. But his minister of war, General Ignacio de Veintemilla,[7] refused to sign the decree, and the gov-

[6] J. L. R., *Historia de la República del Ecuador,* Quito, 1925, II, 256–261, 275–290; Pedro Moncayo, *El Ecuador de 1825 a 1875,* segunda edición, Quito, 1907, 299–300, 302–309; Oscar Efrén Reyes, *Breve historia general del Ecuador,* tercera edición, Quito, 1949, 458; Luis Robalino Dávila, *Orígines del Ecuador de hoy: García Moreno,* Quito, 1949, 303–305, 310–311; Manuel Gálvez, *Vida de don Gabriel García Moreno,* segunda edición, Buenos Aires, 1942, 265–267, 279–301; Roberto Agramonte y Pichardo, *Biografía del dictador García Moreno,* La Habana, 1935, 147–150.

[7] The congressional report of General Ignacio de Veintemilla's behavior makes no mention of his refusal to sign the decree. It discloses, however, that the night of October 3, the minister of war brought a message in the name of the government offering to withdraw the troops on the following day—provided the congressmen adjourned their permanent session—and not to apprehend them while they were leaving or returning to the legislative halls. He, also at the demand to remove the troops immediately so that the congress could give due deliberation to the proposal,

ernor of Quito would not allow it to be published.[8] Then it was that Bustamante resigned and Veintemilla was named to the vacant cabinet office, retaining, likewise, his post as minister of war. Without giving the exact dates, Morales states that Carrión, thinking the congress mollified, within twenty-four hours dismissed Veintemilla and the governor of Quito and designated García Moreno[9] as commander-in-chief and constituted his entire cabinet of García Moreno adherents.[10] This act added fuel to the fire, for not long before the congress had refused to admit García Moreno as the deputy from the Province of Quito, or Pichincha, not Cuenca as stated by Morales. The congress and the president were lying in wait for

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communicated with the chief executive, being authorized after a short interval to comply with their request. On transmitting Bustamante's resignation, Veintemilla announced that the president had named him as temporary minister of internal and foreign affairs. See Moncayo, 305–306. In 1876 Veintemilla headed a rebellion, overthrowing the ruling government and taking over as chief. A constitutional assembly legalized his power in 1878. National reaction against his desire to perpetuate himself in office brought about his expulsion from the country in 1883 after a bloody civil war. One of those whom Veintemilla banished from Ecuador was the famous writer Juan Montalvo who breathes contempt and hatred in his *Las catilinarias* for this "Presidente de los siete vicios." See Efrén Reyes, 478–484.

[8] D. Manuel Tobar was the governor of Pichincha, who refused to proclaim the dissolution of the congress, preferring instead to hand in his resignation. See J. L. R., 282, 284.

[9] García Moreno was in Guayaquil at the same time as was Morales, but there is no indication of a meeting between the two. For accounts—some of a contradictory nature and obviously colored by personal prejudices—of this extraordinary leader's defeat in his race for the senate, see Moncayo, 307–309; J. L. R., II, 277–279; Robalino Dávila, 309–310; Gálvez, 295–297, 300; Agramonte y Pichardo, 71. When mention is made of Gabriel García Moreno (1821–1875) one inevitably thinks of Juan Montalvo, his implacable enemy, who was accustomed to lash García Moreno in the bitter articles of his journal, *El Cosmopolita*. Montalvo is said to have remarked on receiving word of García Moreno's assassination: "Mi pluma lo mató!" Another Ecuadorian literary figure, Juan León Mera, a friend of the dictator, manifests in his posthumous, incomplete book, *García Moreno*, Quito, 1904, 211–242, boundless admiration for his hero, attributing to him a very exemplary youth enriched by study and scientific investigations. The general opinion of his rule as given by historians of the United States is more balanced, as, for instance, A. Curtis Wilgus, *The Development of Hispanic America*, New York, 1941, 495, who states: "On the whole, however, the manifold reforms of Moreno were beneficial and wise, although he often accomplished his aims by arbitrary means." Charles Edward Chapman, *Republican Hispanic America*, New York, 1937, 387–388, calls him "the most remarkable figure in Ecuadorian history," and says in summary: "Resisting his opponents, he became a typical caudillo in his tyranny and despotism, though one of the noblest and most admirable of all the Hispanic American caudillos."

[10] Dr. Rafael Carvajal was named minister of internal and foreign affairs; Colonel Manuel de Ascásubi, minister of war and navy; and General Bernardo Dávalos, minister of the treasury. All three were intimate friends of García Moreno; cf. J. L. R., II, 285.

one another, the former maintaining its accusation of unconstitutionality and the latter threatening to dissolve by force the recalcitrant law-making body. García Moreno bitterly rejected the appointment.

None of the historians consulted give these details, probably no more than rumors, concerning the appointment of García Moreno and his refusal to serve; the ex-president, and president again to be, was in Guayaquil during the whole month of October. By November 4 rumors were circulating that Carrión was seeking to make a deal with the opposition, agreeing to appoint new chiefs and to change the personnel of his recently organized cabinet, all three adherents of García Moreno, and, in brief, to deliver the administrative power to the enemy for the sake of remaining in office. November 5 the cabinet and other high officials resigned and the congress, in a resolution worded in very censorious language, reproved the president's conduct. Unable to carry on longer and faced by probable disaffection of the army, Carrión resigned his office the following day.

When Morales left the troubled scene in Ecuador for a more troubled scene in his native Bolivia is not certain. His letter, formerly an item in the collection of documents belonging to Don Isaac Tamayo, was generously given to the writer by his grandson, Jaime Caballero Tamayo, a friend acquired while in La Paz on a visiting lectureship granted by our Department of State.[11]

Morales' numerous orthographical mistakes—confusing *c* for *s*, *s* for *z* or *c*, and *b* for *v*; suppression of one of two like vowels (*remplaso*) and *s* before a consonant; omission of *h* or its addition where it is not required; division of words into smaller units (*toda vía, des en lace, etc.*) and incorrect writing of the names Veintemilla and Bustamante—together with his errors in syntax—evidence the lamentable state of secondary instruction in the Bolivia of his youth. A product of the barracks, he evidently had spent little time in reading, much too occupied in his conspiracies.

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11 Don Isaac Tamayo, father of the distinguished Bolivian poet, Franz Tamayo, occupied as a young man an unimportant position in the Melgarejo government, and, during that turbulent epoch, doubtlessly came into possession of the Morales letter. In 1914 Don Isaac published under the pseudonym Thajmara a book, *Habla Melgarejo*, composed of that deceased *caudillo's* supposed opinions—all conveyed in a spiritualistic séance—relative to his regime, laws, finance, diplomacy, the Indian, pedagogy, and other social problems peculiar to Bolivia.

Guayaquil, Octubre 20 de 1867.

Exmo. Señor Capitán Jral. Precidente Dn. Mariano Meljarejo

Mi Precidente y amigo:

Estoy en Guayaquil. He echo con V. E. lo último que puede haser un caballero, para manifestar que respeta su palabra. V. E. creherá toda vía a los chismosos? Yo inboco la justicia de V. E. y la del Gobierno.

Nada tengo que haser aquí. Nunca se hiso comercio para Bolivia en Guayaquil y difícil es que puedan recidir Bolivianos en heste temperamento. Los pocos que avían, ya no eccisten, pues la fiebre amarilla hasola este país en el que, mo mento por momento, se es pera un saludo de la fiebre i para los de la tierra es de último adiós.

Comercio, agricultura—todo, todo está en sus penso. Nadie sale ni entra por el orror a la fiebre; nadie piensa sino en el momento de que de uno disponga.

Todos los cónsules i empleados estranjeros habían emigrado, sólo yo quedo/(p. 2) aquí por que hací me lo a ordenado V. E.

El orden público en hesta nación no hestá tranquilo, el Congreso i el Gobierno hestán en completo des a cuerdo: el primero acusó al Ejecutibo por infracción de la Costitución, éste ha su bes mandó un Batallón a disolverlo. El Congreso sigió sus discuciones en seción permanente, haciendo saber al Gobierno que estaban dispuestos a morir en sus acientos i que bajo de hese conocimiento obre. Recibido el mensaje, mandó retirar el Batallón i hagto continuo publicó un decreto poniendo al Congreso en reseso. El Ministro de la Grra. Jral. Beintemillas se negó firmar el decreto, el Gobernador de Quito de hacerlo publicar.

En tal estado de cosas renuncia la cartera el Ministro Bustamente, autor esclucibo del des acuerdo. Admitida por el Precidente i que dando en remplaso el Jral. Beintemillas y con el mismo cargo del Ministerio de la Grra., se creyeron los del Congreso satisfechos. Cuando a las 24 horas resulta nombrado Comandante en Jefe García Moreno i un Ministerio completo de los más siegos adeptos de éste i destituídos Beintemillas, el Governador de Quito, y sobre el Congreso las furias de Gar-/(p. 3) cía Moreno, que fué rechasado por el Congreso como Diputado que hes por la Provincia de Cuenca.

Congreso y Gobierno están en hasecho, García Moreno a rechado (sic) con acritud el nombra miento. El Precidente Carrión se pro-

pone disolver el Congreso por la fuerza; éste continúa con la acusación. En pocos días más se conoserá el des en lace.

Que V. E. difrute de salud, son los más be hementes deseos de su amigo. S. S. Agn. Morales.

* * * *

Guayaquil, October 20, 1867

Mariano Melgarejo
Most Excellent Captain General and President

My dear president and friend:

I am in Guayaquil. I have done for your Excellency the utmost a gentleman can do in order to show that he keeps his word. Can your Excellency still believe in the talebearers? I invoke the justice of your Excellency and that of the government.

I have nothing to do here. Never was there any trade for Bolivia in Guayaquil and it is difficult for Bolivians to reside in this climate. The few that there were no longer exist, since yellow fever devastates this country in which one expects momentarily a greeting from the fever and for those of this earth that means a final good-bye.

Trade, agriculture—everything, everything is suspended. No one departs nor enters through horror of the fever; no one thinks except of the moment of which he disposes.

All the consuls and foreign employees have emigrated, only I remain/ (p. 2) here because your Excellency has ordered it so.

The public order is not calm in this nation, the congress and the government being in complete disagreement: the first mentioned has accused the chief executive of violation of the constitution, the latter, for his part, has ordered a battalion to dissolve it. The congress continued its discussions in a permanent session, advising the government that they were ready to die in their seats and that it proceed with this knowledge. Upon receipt of the message, [the chief executive] ordered the battalion withdrawn and immediately afterward issued a decree declaring the congress in recess. The minister of war, General Beintemillas refused to sign the decree and the governor of Quito to have it published.

In such a state of affairs, the minister Bustamente, exclusive perpetrator of the discord, resigned his office. With the acceptance of this resignation and the appointment in his place of General Beintemillas to the post of minister of war, the president believed that the members of congress would be satisfied. Then within twenty-four hours García Moreno was named commander-in-chief, the entire cabinet was constituted of the latter's most unswerving followers, Beintemillas and the governor of Quito were dismissed from office, and the congress remained subject to the rage of García/(p. 3) Moreno, who had been rejected by the congress as deputy from the Province of Cuenca.

The congress and government are lying in wait, García Moreno has gruffly rejected the appointment. President Carrión proposes to dissolve the congress by force; the latter maintains its accusation. The outcome will be known in a few days.

That your Excellency may enjoy good health is the vehement desire of your friend and servant. Agustín Morales.

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Book Reviews

Lincoln Finds a General, A Military Study of the Civil War. By Kenneth P. Williams. 2 vols., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 810, illustrations, maps. $12.50.

No one even faintly familiar with the Civil War needs to be told that the general whom Lincoln finally found was U. S. Grant. The reader of these two volumes should be warned, however, that Lincoln does not come to the end of his search until the very last page. Here, instead, is the story of the war in the East during the three-year period when Grant was maturing. Presumably Grant's own story, from 1861 until he took over the command of the Federal armies, as well as the events of 1864–65, will be the subject of forthcoming volumes.

Mr. Williams, a professor of mathematics to whom the history of the Civil War has long been a consuming interest, has shaped his narrative with certain crucial questions in mind: "How had Lincoln dealt with his other generals? Had he treated them fairly and given them adequate opportunities to display their capacities as commanders? Did he act hastily in changing them, or—judged from modern standards—patiently and leniently?"

The answers to these questions are implicit, though as clear as if they were specifically formulated. Of all the major commanders in the East—McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker—only Pope got something less than a fair trial, and for that public opinion was more responsible than Abraham Lincoln.

In many instances Williams' conclusions are at variance with currently accepted estimates. Ever since the Battle of Bull Run military historians have criticized Robert Patterson for his failure to keep Joe Johnston from joining Beauregard, but Williams places the real responsibility on Scott for careless and confusing orders. At Williams' hands, John E. Wool comes out a fine old veteran whose services have been consistently undervalued. John Pope was a better soldier than his numerous critics have indicated—he obeyed orders (as some of his fellow officers did not), he was aggressive, he handled large bodies of troops capably. It was his misfortune never to have an opportunity to retrieve the mistakes he made in his first great battle. Even Burnside had good qualities, though he was temperamentally incapable of bearing the tremendous responsibility that the commander of an army locked in battle cannot evade.

But the verdicts that will infuriate some critics—that have, in fact, already infuriated a goodly number—are those that concern McClellan and Lee.

To say that Williams is completely unimpressed by recent efforts to picture McClellan as a great commander who was thwarted by a blundering President is understatement. The indictment is too long, too detailed, to recapitulate, but his final estimate is expressed in three biting sentences: "McClellan was not a real general. McClellan was not even a disciplined,

truthful soldier. McClellan was merely an attractive but vain and unstable man, with considerable military knowledge, who sat a horse well and wanted to be President."

Lee, on the other hand, was a great general. But—and this is lese majesty—he was not infallible. He was guilty, more often than not, of issuing vague and confusing orders, he tolerated more insubordination than he should have suffered, he had no unusual ability to divine the movements of his adversaries, he had his periods of indecision, he was often just plain lucky. Of Gettysburg, the turning point of his career, Williams writes: "Because he was the attacker . . . and won local temporary successes, efforts to conjure up a possible decisive victory for him have persisted with great vigor. That they should have reposed so largely upon unjust charges against the able generals who led his corps in hopeless tasks, and who received such vague and imperfect orders, is an unhappy thought to contemplate."

"It would seem that every possible excuse has been put forward to explain Lee's failure at Gettysburg," Williams continues. "But the real explanation can be given in three words: the Union army." Those three words explain more than Lee's defeat: they are the key to Williams' entire study. His basic assumption is the somewhat quaint one that the North won the Civil War—significantly, he calls the conflict by that name rather than by some such misnomer as "The War Between the States"—and that it did it by superior military power.

Williams' work is based on the main on *The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion.* The historian who relies on this enormous compilation for accounts of what actually happened will be led astray by the special pleading and incomplete knowledge of the officers who wrote battle reports, but Williams avoids this trap by using it principally for the orders and information upon which commanders acted in given situations. The result is military history that is interesting, illuminating, and provocative.

This book is certain to offend many readers. On occasion the author passes judgments in an ex cathedra manner that other close students wlil find irritating, his criticism of well known authorities will pierce some thin skins, proponents of commanders other than his own favorites will go after his scalp, and to the champions of Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, and Southern arms generally he will be anathema. But for years to come his work will have to be taken into careful consideration by all students of the Civil War.

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Chicago Historical Society.

Slavonic Encyclopedia. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek, Ph.D. Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1949. Pp. ix, 1445.

General interest in the Slavic countries and peoples has been magnified since World War II. The need for knowing with greater accuracy and detail the contribution of the Slavs to the progress of mankind is, therefore, more pressing now than it has been at any time before. Dr. Roucek and his collaborators have attempted along these encyclopedic lines to foster

a better understanding of the Slavic world in students, scholars, and the average man. It is suggested in the preface that this volume represents the first attempt to present in encyclopedic form a book of information on Slavdom in Europe and in the United States. That it should have fallen far short of other more famous models in various fields of Slavic learning, compiled by outstanding Slavic scholars from all parts of Europe, is not particularly remarkable when one considers the manifold difficulties inherent in the very nature of such an undertaking. These difficulties of the editor can be partially appreciated when one notes the treatment of the Ukraine as subordinated to that of Russia, Croatia and Slovenia as sub-topics of Jugoslavia, and Slovakia as a sub-topic of Czechoslovakia, thus taking cognizance of the many divisions of the Slavic peoples.

"Pan-Slavism," explains the editor, in his Preface "is one of the great ideological dynamics of the Slavonic world today," but the necessities of the case required that it be treated "from the empiric and non-evaluating point of view." Since the Editorial Board has insisted upon a descriptive, empirical and scientific approach, it is much to be regretted that in many instances it has lost sight of this highly ambitious policy. The importance of some Slavic peoples is emphasized all out of proportion to others. By reason of this fact, the work cannot be said to be well balanced.

If one were to catalog all of the omissions, mistakes and inconsistencies, this review would itself take on the proportions of an encyclopedia. Consequently only a few are here selected as illustrative of the over-all deficiencies of the present volume. From the viewpoint of balanced and scientific treatment it is difficult to understand why a little known Hollywood actress should merit 42 lines of description mainly because she refused to "Heil Hitler" and was runner-up to Sonja Henie in the 1936 Olympics, whereas Archbishop Alojs Stepinac, whose stand against totalitarianism was certainly no less firm or heroic, receives little more than half that space. The Editor himself receives no less than 65 lines while Franc Miklosic is dismissed with six words—"the greatest philologist of the 19C". Bartholomeus Kopitar is mentioned as a Serb philologist, whereas he was a Slovenian. Boskovic, a great scientist in the study of the atom, is also designated as a Serb. The *Encyclopedia Britannica,* professing no specialization in Slavic matters, refers to him as one of the foremost Serbo-Croat scientific writers. Born at Ragusa, Dalmatia, so the account runs in *Britannica,* in his fifteenth year he entered the Society of Jesus. However, no mention either of his place of birth or religious affiliation is made in the *Slavonic Encyclopedia.* Confronted with such a deliberate omission, one opines whether the editor regarded these facts as too unimportant for mention. The withholding of salient information is as detrimental to the scientific and objective pretentions of such a work as the distortion or inaccurate presentation of facts.

Instances of inaccurate presentation are not lacking. In the first sentence of the article on the Rev. Anton Korochetz, the subject is described as "a heavy-set priest of the Jesuit Order . . ."; it is also considered of importance to note that he "died on December 14, 1940 of apoplexy at the age of 68." The pertinence of these facts is difficult to discern. Whether his corpulency or his varied political activities brought on the apoplexy may seem unimportant from the scientific point of view, but it should be ob-

served for purposes of historical accuracy that his death is not to be charged to the diet served in Jesuit refectories, if for no other reason than that Koroshetz never was a member of the Jesuit order. There is no excuse for such errors of fact.

The article on the "Slavs" is written with little taste and even less understanding by some Englishman who writes presumably under a pseudonym. While he pretends to know everything there is to know about the Slavs, he can find nothing to say about the Slovenes except that "nothing is known of them." Similarly, the Slovaks are shabbily treated as a sort of Cinderella to the intellectually superior and more progressive Czech. To attribute by innuendo this alleged backwardness to religious considerations is to discount completely certain factors which must be considered in any "scientific" treatment of the subject. The treatment of Catholicism is far from objective or even friendly. Some writers display a definite anti-Catholic bias. An encyclopedia should approach subjects of this kind with care and with a desire to minimize areas of controversy. Polemics has no place in a work which is to be dignified by the title "encyclopedia."

Since considerable space, all out of proportion to their relative importance, has been alloted to recent Communist leaders who occupy positions of power behind "the Iron Curtain," it is not unreasonable to expect that more space should have been devoted to prominent Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Bulgars who really contributed something to the history, literature, culture and scientific development of their people. The Communist ascendancy is but a small, sad chapter in the long history of the Slavic peoples. If Communism and European masonry merit so much attention, there is no reason why at least equal consideration could not be devoted to the past unless, by implication, all achievements are to be made to commence with the present Communist dictatorships. After all is said, both Communism and masonry were never truly Slavic in origin, but importations of nations which entertained ambitions to rule the Slavs.

The literature of Yugoslavia is treated as a unified whole. Such treatment is not only impossible, but downright confusing. The *Freisinger Fragments* are mentioned in connection with Sts. Cyril and Methodius. There is no historical connection whatsoever. Neither were they first written in Glagolithic, but appeared in a German kind of Latin (Gothic) and were partially written by a German priest who wished merely to memorize and rewrite some Slavic prayers.

The only space devoted to the laws and judicature of Yugoslavia is exclusively concerned with the new setup under the present regime. While such treatment may conceivably be of interest to the student of the present, nothing is said of the old codes under which Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia have been governed for centuries. Thirteen lines are devoted to the Code of Vinedol, but not one word about the Code of Dushan or Polijce, or the civil law adapted to Slavonic needs. Names of recent writers of international prominence in Jurisprudence—men like Peric, Jovanovic, Pitamic, and Koroshec—do not even rate mention.

On the subject of music, which can properly be said to reflect the emotions and aspirations of any racial or national group, the reader is told that "the Slavs consider music as one of the greatest gifts of God." How-

ever, in the treatment of national folk music, composers and artists, the accounts in general are so poorly conceived and written, so vitiated by editorial blunders and prejudices as to hold but little interest for the serious student of Slavic music. Thus, for example, the life and work of Modeste Moussorgsky, perhaps Russia's greatest composer of nationalistic music, is treated in two separate and distinct articles, neither one of any significant length, one appearing under MOUSSORGSKY, the other under MUSSORGSKY. Such a blunder might be overlooked were it not for the fact that the biographies of composers and artists in general are inadequate insofar as factual detail is concerned, yet many are cluttered with pointless anecdotes of questionable veracity.

There are numerous and unpardonable mistakes in geography; only a few may be cited here. Carniola is placed in Slavonia, whereas even the most superficial student of Yugoslavia will tell you without hesitation that it is in Slovenia. Krs. should be Kras. Starodrevno Seo is placed in the Dravska Banovina, but cannot be found in this province. Gustanj and not Gustank is in Slovenia. There is a Topusko and not a Soposko and it is located not in Slovenia where the Encyclopedia erroneously places it, but in Croatia. Furthermore, there is nothing either very scientific or particularly revealing in the discovery that the same word is used for "beer" from Prague to Vladivostok and from Murmansk to the shores of the Adriatic.

The reviewer read with a sense of pride under the subject of "Slavs in the United States" that the Czechs are "the most virile people of the slavonic race," conscious that some of his blood can be traceable to Czech ancestry. However, when he recalled that another part of it derives from another branch of the Slavonic race, he found he was at war with himself. This type of writing bears all the earmarks of the excessive and misdirected patriotism which characterized the writings of those who sought to spread the myth of Nordic superiority. It is hardly the objective treatment expected of a work of this type and, what is more, it is certainly not conducive to a better cultural understanding among Slavic groups.

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J. L. M. CURRY. By Jessie Pearl Rice. King's Crown Press, Columbia University, New York, 1949. Pp. 242. $3.50.

If you still think that fame is lasting, the reading of this book will perhaps correct your misapprehension. Few Americans of today have ever heard of J. L. M. Curry, although he was one of the most important leaders in the South from 1865 to 1900. His correspondence extends through twenty-four large bound volumes; he collected comments on his works and speeches and filled a half dozen very large scrap books with them; articles and addresses fill several more large books; he published several books; he helped found the Southern Historical Association and served as its President for several years; he served as our Minister to Spain, 1885-1888; he was a very power-

ful influence in directing the work of the Peabody Fund from 1881 until his death in 1903. Yet his name seldom appears in books now being written about the post-war South. He seems to be the "forgotten man" in southern history.

Jessie Pearl Rice has done much to rescue Mr. Curry from an undeserved oblivion. Born in 1825 in Georgia, Jabez Lafayette (later Lamar, a family name was substituted) Monroe Curry was educated first in the South and later went to Harvard, where he received his law degree in 1845. From law he entered politics and served in the Alabama legislature. In 1857 he was elected to Congress, and gave his first speech in the House in February 1858. On November 26, 1860 he advocated secession because of his fear of what the "Black Republican Party, sectional and hostile," would do to the South he loved.

He served in the Confederate Congress and saw some non-military service with the Army. Following the war he became a college president and a Baptist minister, and subsequently became very interested in the education of the Negro, as the long tenure with the Peabody Fund would indicate. He accepted the defeat of 1865 philosophically, although he always maintained that the South had acted constitutionally in trying to leave the Union. His contribution to the nation as a whole, from 1865 to 1903, was really an impressive one, and he richly deserved this excellent account of his life.

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The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. By Henry J. Browne. Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1949. Pp. 415. $4.50.

The Knights of Labor seem to interest more undergraduate and graduate history students than any other labor organization. Possibly it is the name; then again it may be that queerest of all labor leaders, Terence V. Powderly. Possibly, too, it is the fact that Cardinal Gibbons became very much concerned about the Knights, and apparently saved them from being condemned as a "secret society" by the Catholic Church. Father Henry J. Browne, in volume XXXVIII of the Catholic University Studies in American Church History, edited by Father John Tracy Ellis, has written with a detachment seldom employed by those writing about labor unions. He has presented a rather complete account of the attitude of the clergy and hierarchy toward labor unions in the 1880's. Father Browne has made clear that at times this was a friendly attitude; at other times it was decidedly hostile. He has made Powderly even more understandable than Powderly's own book *Thirty Years of Labor* and *The Path I Trod* made him.

Elected Grand Master Workman of the K. of L. in 1879, Powderly, a Catholic, was only too well aware that many Catholic priests and bishops considered the Knights similar in secrecy to the Masons, and therefore op-

posed them. In 1881, one of Powderly's lieutenants reported: "The greatest curse to our Order seems to be the priests" (p. 58). Powderly was unable by his own efforts to change drastically any provision of the K. of L. in order to reconcile the Catholic conscience and naturally he could alter no ecclesiastical law relating to secret societies. Meanwhile, the Knights were being refused the sacraments of the Catholic Church in some cities simply because of membership in the Order (p. 59). Powderly and his associates maintained that secrecy was necessary if the Order were to succeed in its fight against capitalistic opposition, and he further manifested a willingness to submit all rituals to the Catholic hierarchy so that the latter could convince themselves that the Order was not irreligious in its objectives.

The struggle was destined to be a long one and Father Browne has traced it meticulously. Even though Powderly maintained that the "oath" had been supplanted by a "promise" on January 1, 1882, priests and bishops still opposed the Order (pp. 63–75 *passim*). Mine operators in 1882 tried to get Archbishop Gibbons to remove Father Valentine Schmitt, who was friendly to the miners, many of whom were Knights, at Eckhart, Maryland, but failed (pp. 80–81). However, in the same year, Knights were refused Christian burial in Columbus, Ohio, because of membership in the Order (p. 82). Early in 1883 it seemed quite likely that the Order was to be opposed very openly in Philadelphia and in Chicago by the Church authorities in those two Sees (p. 85). The Reverend John J. O'Reilly of Mount Carmel, Pennsylvania "went so far as to declare if the Pope ever approved the Order he would 'fling off the vestments'," but about the same time Archbishop Heiss of Milwaukee manifested a friendly attitude toward the Knights (pp. 134–136 *passim*).

These conflicting attitudes were symptomatic of the conflicting opinions held concerning the K. of L. Some priests and bishops, aware of the anti-religious attitude found among many "liberal" groups feared trade unions as such; other priests and bishops believed that hostility toward laboring men by church leaders would drive many Catholics out of the church. Among the latter group of churchmen was Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore. Despite an apparent unfriendliness shown toward the K. of L. by Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec, Archbishop Gibbons successfully used his influence in 1887 with the Holy Office at Rome to prevent any condemnation of the K. of L. Powderly rather effusively thanked Cardinal Gibbons on June 30, 1887, for the consideration shown the K. of L. Father Browne observes that this letter did not appear later in Powderly's autobiography. Probably that is explained by the fact that Powderly became a Mason in 1901 and evidently remained one until his death in 1924. No book could justify its title more than this richly documented study of the relationship between labor and the Church in nineteenth century America.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

A History of the Old South. By Clement Eaton. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 619. $7.00.

Clement Eaton, Professor of History at the University of Kentucky, educated at the University of North Carolina and Harvard, whose teaching career has carried him to various parts of the United States, is eminently fitted to write an impartial history of the Old South. Passing over, in large part, materials formerly used in the writing of Southern history, he has depended principally upon sources recently uncovered by American scholarship, especially Southern, such as manuscripts, diaries, newspapers, family papers, slave records, and travel accounts. Out of these he has woven a fabric which ultimately portrays the South of 1860 as an incipient nation differing from the rest of the country in regard to political philosophy, its way of life, its set of values, and its views of morality, especially the morality of slavery. The book is devoted to an account of how and why a particular Southern civilization and national feeling came into being.

Dr. Eaton traces the roots of sectionalism to colonial times and to the debates over the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The virulent growth of this sectionalism, he points out, did not take place, however, until after the Missouri controversy and the rise of the abolutionists. Thereafter, the North and the South became increasingly conscious of their peculiar economic, political, social and moral interests. The quarrel over the extension of slavery into the territories brought this divergence of points of view to a climax, and the traditional Anglo-Saxon practice of fair compromise being finally abandoned, led to secession and the clash of arms.

The average scholarly reader of today is familiar with the generally accepted interpretation of the role of the South in pre-Civil War American history. This interpretation follows neither the theses of the nationalist and anti-slavery historians nor those of the Southern extremists. Insofar as Dr. Eaton follows this moderate, well-beaten path, he presents nothing startling. However, several chapters emphasize and summarize materials not as yet found in the average text. Such chapters are, "The Creoles Become Southerners," "The Two-Party System of the Old South," "Commerce in the Old South," "The Progress of Southern Manufactures," "Molding of the Southern Mind," and "The Chrysalis Stage of Southern Culture." Especially good is the chapter, "The Social Pyramid, 1850–60," which repeats the oft-told story of the aristocrat and the "poor white," but places particular emphasis on the role of the neglected Southern yeoman, the "forgotten man."

The author has especial talent for character deliniations. Such Southerners as John Marshall, Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph of Roanoke, Andrew Jackson, and John C. Calhoun are treated in detail, not only as national figures but also as men who had great influence on the course of Southern development. John Taylor of Carolina, Wm. Lowndes Yancey, Robert Barnwell Rhett, and Edmund Ruffin, among others, are described as more strictly Southern sectionalists.

One of the features which makes this particular work "live" is the author's ability to interpret events of the past in terms of present-day prob-

lems. He compares the debates over the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the present debates over the strengthening of the United Nations government, and refers to the former as "the Great Rehearsal" for the acceptance of a world federation. He draws a striking parallel between the problem of the state veto (Nullification Controversy, 1832) and the similar question facing the Council of the United Nations. Also, he shows that there is a notable resemblance between the Jeffersonian administration and the "New Deal" of the decades of the 1930's.

The book has new, though well-supported interpretations, only a few of which can be mentioned. The state tariff barriers of the Confederation Period, the author points out, were not directed against other states but against Great Britain. The economic and educational retardation of the South he attributes to its "dominant ruralism . . ., the westward movement, and the presence of the Negroes in large numbers . . ., irrespective of the institution of slavery." Especially worthy of note is his reference to the "poor whites" as "stranded frontiersmen," "the victim of their isolated environment." He defends the course of President Buchanan in 1860 as an attempt "to create a political atmosphere favorable to compromise and adjustment." The failure of the nation to find a compromise in 1860, he says, "must be shared by Congress, the Southern extremists, and President-elect Lincoln." And finally, he speaks of the South's attempt to establish its independence as being "a part of the romantic nationalism of the mid-nineteenth century which was agitating Europe."

In only a few instances is Dr. Eaton guilty of carelessness. Apparently following the Reverend B. Stevens, author of the *History of Georgia,* and the *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* he refers to Christian Priber, an Indian agent, as a Jesuit. There is no record of a Jesuit or any other missionary of that name in the North, West, or South. Also, the author makes the direct and somewhat all-inclusive statement that Jackson's Specie Circular was responsible for the Panic of 1837. In view of other factors of both a national and international nature, this seems to be an over-simplification. And finally, he says that "these gentlemen [Buchanan, Soulé, and Mason], . . . had a conference at the Belgian seaside resort of Ostend and drew up the notorious Ostend Manifesto." The responsibility for this "arrogant imperialism" he places upon the three diplomats rather than upon Secretary of State William L. Marcy, where it more rightfully belongs. In this instance, Dr. Eaton seems to be perpetuating an old anti-slavery interpretation. Recent scholarship has revealed that the document was not a "manifesto" but was a confidential dispatch to the State Department, and was not drawn up at Ostend but at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Despite these limited criticisms, *A History of the Old South* is welcomed as a noteworthy addition to scholarly achievement in the field of Southern history. As a comprehensive and fair account, it fills a void which has long existed and has been keenly felt. It can be perused by the casual reader with pleasure, and it provides for the student a rich store of carefully selected and evaluated information.

KENNETH M. JACKSON

Loyola University, Chicago

Brazilian Culture, An Introduction to the Study of Culture In Brazil. By Fernando de Azevedo. Translated by William Rex Crawford. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950. Pp. xxix, 562. Illustrated. $12.50.

This is indeed a very weighty tome. The text runs roughly to three hundred and forty thousand words. It requires eighteen pages to list the four hundred and eighteen illustrations, which add some two hundred unnumbered pages. There is a name and a subject index. The type is a bit larger than that before you, but the lines are five inches across, certainly too wide and too close to each other for comfortable reading. However, the whole is very well worth the effort and price.

Dr. Fernando de Azevedo, long renowned in Brazil for his studies in education, sociology, and literature, and as an exponent of educational reform since the coming of Getulio Vargas in 1930, received Brazil's highest literary award in 1943, chiefly for the publication of this book in Portuguese. Dr. William Rex Crawford was equally well equipped to present a translation that does justice to the involved style of the author. From a literary viewpoint the result before us is a remarkable example of a style which verges on the classical. Its long, balanced sentences incorporate from one period to the next all qualifying phrases or distinctions of the main thought. Folk of the United States and folk of Brazil will not get very far into this work, considering the present tendency toward digests and toward skipping long sentences and unusual words. For those to whom the elaborate and polished sentence is a lost art, the pictures and chapter outlines will suffice. The publishers have gone to an amazing expense to print pictures illustrating every phase of Brazilian life and culture—its art, architecture, painting, printing, sculpture, its urban, pastoral, and wild life, its crafts and industries; moreover, there are good photographs of the men whose genius, philosophies, and religion have brought Brazil to its present cultural status.

The work appeals as a cultured scholar's presentation of the intellectually enriching elements of Brazilian society as they have been assessed by past generations of Brazilian thinkers. It is professedly a synthesis designed to describe the evolution of the Brazilian way of life and to estimate its present progress anl problems. In his introduction Dr. de Azevedo defines his meaning of culture and civilization, drawing largely on European, especially French and German, sources for his citations. Rarely afterward does he command other authorities than the Brazilian. There is nothing startling in the content of his introductory essay, but the manner of presentating cultural aims in eloquent sentences, and the nuances of thought are unusual.

The synthesis, the book, is divided into three parts of five chapters each. The chapters in Part I explain the controlling factors of culture in Brazil: the land, the people, the work, the development of city life, the social and political evolution, and the concluding summary on the psychology of the people. The extraordinary realism with which Brazilians face and have faced the many problems growing out of these elements is abundantly clear in the chapters. One fundamental obstacle to progress, while indi-

cated, does not receive the stress due to its importance. This is the lack of sound health in the society. The predominant physical afflictions could well have been used to explain cultural and industrial deficiencies and educational problems. Each of the factors are evaluated from their early colonial origins according to the periods of Brazilian history, and, as is the case throughout the book, much factual data, statistical, biographical, and topical, appear in the footnotes. The more striking ideas appear in the passages explaining the work of the Jesuits in fashioning Brazilian culture and in passages tracing deep-rooted institutions, as, for example: "The chapel . . . served . . . as a point of fixation . . . The life of the region centered on it." (p. 73, n. 5). Again, the sentence: "Of all the social institutions, it is the family that shows greatest solidity and cohesion . . ." (p. 129, n. 9), begins a fine estimate of the domestic ideals of Brazilians.

Part II analyzes the culture of the Brazilians, showing in order their religious institutions and beliefs, their intellectual life in the liberal professions, their literary life, their science and art. The approach to the vast religious question is liberal and sympathetic. The impact of the early Catholic missionary impact upon the primitive fetishism and upon the cults of incoming African slaves was not destructive of all of the traditional customs of the Indians and Negroes. The confounding status of Catholics in Masonic lodges is presented as typical of Brazilian liberalism. The last section is an illuminating survey of the origins and progress of the Protestant denominations and their educational programs. Once more the earlier writers and renowned native scholars are called upon as sources as each appeared in the epic of Brazil's development, whether Jesuit or miner, poet or trader, engineer or educator. This part is remarkably well conceived and completed.

The third part, nearly half of the book, is given over to the author's special interest—education, wherein he becomes a source, particularly in the period of the reforms in the public system beginning with the advent of Getulio Vargas. De Azevedo's role in this program of modernization is important since his first cry for reorientation in 1928. Here he is most eloquent and most enthusiastic. Here he makes his greatest contribution. He has explained the cultural programs and educational methods of the past; they were suitable for their day; but by 1928 they, like Brazil's monocultural and industrial systems were obsolete. With the Vargas revolution of 1930 the opportunity for educational reform presented itself, and Dr. de Azevedo traces the long history of his debates and researches, and opposing opinions on educational aims and procedures, from 1930 to the end of 1942. He does not carry his work beyond 1942, and thus leaves some pages to be written about the outcome of the national educational program under the Novo Stado through the war years and the new administration.

The author was an exponent of the New State policies in education, but wavered somewhat with the Vargas declaration of the authoritatarian state in 1937 and the trend toward complete federal control. Accepting the basic principles of the New State that "Brazil is the Brazilians," "it is the duty of man to work," and that it is the duty of the State to develop the "whole man" and thereby train him to take a healthy part in the national occupations, the author finds himself in the prevalent and conventional educational pickle: the democratization of education versus the aristocratization,

the local and private versus federal controls. With federal aid, feeble though it be financially, primary and secondary education might be spread over a greater number of students, how abundantly or thinly is not clear. Yet this widening of opportunities might entail the loss of freedom in teaching content, since the national government would control the aims and issue the directives. State schools, city schools and private institutions would remain without voice, while at the same time suffer a double tax on their finance, that is, for their own upkeep and for that of the national schools.

Apart from this fundamental issue of the authority to educate, Dr. de Azevedo offers many stimulating and challenging pages in these last chapters, while indicating his wide comprehension of the state of education in Europe and in the United States and his own efforts toward the adaptation of ideals, aims, contents, pedagogics, policies, budgeting, inspections, statistical checks, and teacher training programs of other countries to the Brazilian scene and temperament. His book is now happily more available to students of this country than it was in the original Portuguese. It makes available a plentiful amount of past and present thought of Brazilians and of source materials. We can recommend it to a wide audience.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Institute of Jesuit History

Notes and Comments

Professor Mody C. Boatright of the University of Texas, who already has several volumes of folklore to his credit, has collected some of the most humorous stories circulated in the west, and has unified them by his own interesting comments. The resulting volume, *Folk Laughter on the American Frontier,* has been published by Macmillan Company for three dollars, and it is well worth the price. Certain chapter titles indicate the nature of the contents: "Manners and Men," "The Art of Tall Lying," "Backwoods Belles," and "Free Speech." A rather extensive list of books for additional reading is given at the end of each chapter. Most readers will find themselves introduced to what is practically a new and very interesting field by this very interesting book prepared by Dr. Boatright.

* * * *

Certainly one of the more unusual books recently published by the University of California Press is the one by Richard O. Cummings, entitled *The American Ice Harvests.* We who today take the mechanical refrigerator for granted will learn much that is interesting from this book, outlining as it does the efforts that Americans made to provide themselves and others with ice before Frigidaire became a household word. There is considerable information about the icehouses of Massachusetts, because business men in that state made efforts to provide the southern states, the West Indies, and even California with natural ice. Icehouses holding as much as forty thousand tons of ice were used; ships were built for carrying ice around Cape Horn to California in the 1850's. Interesting material is also given concerning the early refrigerator cars, and the first attempts to produce ice by machine methods. A series of pertinent appendices and a well prepared index increase the value of this book, priced at three dollars.—P. K.

* * * *

The Middle American Research Institute of the Tulane University is to be congratulated on the publication of the excellent monograph: *Rusticatio Mexicana.* This was written in elegant Latin hexameter verse by Father Raphael Landivar, S.J., (1731–

1793), and first published at Bonn in 1782. Landivar was born in Guatemala and exiled from his native land with all of the Jesuits in 1768. Living in Bologna his memory ever went back to Guatemala. He describes the glories of his homeland in poetic cantos: its lakes, its animals, its people and culture, mining and the art of processing silver and gold, sugar refining, indigo extraction, in fine, his people in their industrial and intellectual pursuits.

The translation by Gradon W. Regenos is very well done. So too is the editorial work and indexing by Robert Wauchope. All the cantos have excellent notes to help clear up more difficult passages. The monograph has value for the historian for its many details and it might well serve as a text in Latin classes which are willing to accept its challenge to better study and production.—James Mertz.

* * * *

The Paradox of Oscar Wilde, by George Woodcock, (The Macmillan Company, 1950) is really a series of essays woven together by the author's aim: to resolve apparent contradictions in Wilde's life, writings, and thought. These contradictions the author explains by judging that "Wilde's nature was of a schizoid type" (p. 4). Such contradictions as "playboy and prophet," "the snob and the social revolutionary," and "paganism and Christianity" in Wilde are discussed. Mr. Woodcock is very sympathetic to Wilde in both his life and his work and appreciates the desire his subject had for complete liberty and free individualism. The chapter on "Paganism and Christianity"—the longest in the book—will certainly not satisfy any orthodox Christian, since the author manifests no understanding of true Christianity. The book would be more impressive if references were given for statements quoted from Wilde, Pater, *et al.* An index and bibliography would also increase the value of the book.—Norman Weyand.

* * * *

Now we have available, and needed on every reference shelf, *The Lincoln Encyclopedia,* The Spoken and Written Words of A. Lincoln Arranged for Ready Reference, Compiled and Edited by Archer H. Shaw, with an Introduction by David C. Mearns, Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress, published by The Macmillan Company, listed at six and one half dollars. Mr. Shaw has spent his

retirement days from newspaper work diligently arranging over five thousand words and phrases, names and topics used by Abraham Lincoln and printed in the Tandy edition of *Lincoln's Complete Works* and by the later editors of newly found utterances. Lincoln's statement on each of the items is given with a reference to its source. These, printed in ten inch pages of two columns each, make the *Encyclopedia* 395 pages in length. The cross-references are an additional finding apparatus. Mr. Shaw will receive the blessings of writers, newsmen, orators, debaters, students, and scholars. The whole idea is not just good—it is fascinating. The book may be picked up for reading at any page, or utilized to track down from numerous sayings the complete thought of the Emancipator on any one subject. *The Lincoln Encyclopedia* is a fine means to save hours and to use hours.

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Dr. Ruth Lapham Butler, custodian of the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, now has in page proof *The Guide to the Hispanic American Historical Review 1918–1945,* which she is editing for publication by Duke University Press. This will be indispensible as an aid to efficient finding of articles and documents in the first twenty-five volumes of the HAHR. As soon as an estimate of the number of copies needed is made, the presses will roll. This may be ordered sight unseen in view of Dr. Butler's known carefulness of detail and utility.

* * * *

The fact that religion was taught in the various American colonies is so well known as to be beyond comment. Precisely how the religious instruction was organized and imparted has been considered a simple detail which might likewise be taken for granted. But Father Fernand Porter, O.F.M. thought that the entire institution of catechetical instruction as it persisted through two centuries in the Catholic parishes of Canada was worthy of study. He presented his findings in 1949 in *L'Institution Catechestique au Canada Français 1633–1833,* published by Les Editions Franciscaines, Montreal, in 332 pages with illustrations, at the list price of two dollars and a half.

The book is clearly organized and presented in a scholarly manner, with illustrative samples of documents and a happy usage of

modern educational and psychological terminology. In the first part, "The Formation of the Teachers," the training process of catechetical instructors according to the legislation of the Council of Trent, is clearly revealed. The second part describes the instruction books used, methods of presentation, and auxiliary aids for the parish priests, parents, and other instructors in both French and English Canada. The third part explains the functioning of the catechetical program in homes and churches. The fourth part is an evaluation of the institution from the viewpoints of psychology, pedagogy, church law, family life, sociology, and adult and child education. Father Porter has done an excellent work in thus describing the system of Christian education in vogue for so long and apparently the basis of the staunch religious character of Canada's present inhabitants.

* * * *

Every Inch a King, a biography of Dom Pedro I, the first emperor of Brazil, by Sérgio Corrêa da Costa, was translated from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam and published this year by The Macmillan Company. It is a dramatic rather than definitive biography, stressing the well-worn topic of the love life of the notorious Braganza monarch, who ruled Brazil during nine years of its political "measles age" after independence in 1822 and died at the age of thirty-six in Portugal. From reasons presented in this book, and from common historical knowledge of his deeds, the right of Dom Pedro to be classified as "every inch a king" is still far from established. What is clear is the fact that Pedro, by reason of his emotionalism, was not equipped from a political, moral, or economic standpoint to rule any people. The author lauds him beyond all desert for his "liberalism" and palliates his libertinism. Pedro's liberalism consisted in giving lip service to the constitutions, to the Catholic Church beliefs, and to the tenets of Masonry, all at the same time, and he met the inevitable consequences of divided allegiances. His decisions were generally those of emotion and expediency, behind which was his general attitude that "the king could do no wrong." His failures in his domestic, governmental, and military life remain monumental, despite the present glamorizing. The book, while it is not scholarly or "much needed," is mildly entertaining as chit-chat about soured absolutists and enlightened liberals of the time. It omits bothersome footnote citations and most of the exact dates of events, including the birthday of Pedro.

From Brasil come the last three volumes, the seventh, eighth and ninth, of Serafim Leite's *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* published by the Instituto Nacional do Livro, Rio de Janeiro. Volume VII has to do with the internal government of the Jesuits of Brasil to the time of their suppression by the Portuguese crown in 1759. Only the last section traces the process of the suppression and exile of the Black Robes. The space given to this resounding event is far too little. Perhaps some day when there is no longer danger of hurting feelings, someone will present the true reasons for the various quashings of the Society of Jesus.

The last two volumes are a veritable bibliographical treasury. Exclusive of the bibliographical introductions and the documentary appendices, these contain a total of 762 pages listing the Jesuit writers of Brasil during the 210 years of their existence there in colonial times, with the available biographical data for each. This is a notable conclusion to a great work by Father Leite.

* * * *

South Dakota Historical Collections and Report, Volume XXIV, 1949, compiled by the State Historical Society of South Dakota, contains eight articles, three of which take up more than one hundred pages. These are: "Minnesela Days," by Joe Koller, "The Early and Territorial History of Codington County," by Wright Tarbell, and "Report on Historic Sites in the Fort Randall Reservoir Area," by Merrill J. Mattes. These and the other articles are of noteworthy value as local and state history. They have the flavor of the West in pioneer days and are records suitable for preservation. They are interesting to read, although marred by numerous minor printing mistakes.

* * * *

Âbside, a review of Mexican culture, suffered a great loss with the passing from this world of the Reverend Dr. Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, its founder and editor, on December 16, 1949. He was in his forty-fourth year and had just completed the editorial work on the thirteenth volume of the quarterly. Our expressions of regret go out to *Âbside* over its loss, and our expressions of encouragement go to Dr. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, the new editor.

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Camilo Henríquez: Padre of the Press

Camilo Henríquez would not compromise. He used every means at his command to fire his countrymen with the ardent desire for independence from Spain. Chile had not yet decided upon full separation from the motherland, had not yet severed all its ties; there were many who vacillated. But Camilo Henríquez was not one of them. He had but one supreme ideal, and that was the emancipation of Chile from Spanish power.[1] Wielding with energy his pen as Chile's first newspaper editor, exercising his influence as a friar of the religious Order of Buena Muerte, demanding respect as a member of the revolutionary government, Camilo Henríquez flung his frail body into the fight for freedom and never relinquished his intellectual sword. He fought for Chile's future and for Chile's betterment in everything that came under his observation. He was the pivot of Chile's intellectual development during the revolutionary period.

* * * *

Camilo Henríquez was born in Valdivia, Chile, on July 20, 1769,[2] the son of Don Félix Henríquez and doña Rosa González.[3] Camilo had two brothers, one of whom died in infancy; the other, José Manuel, was killed later in the unsuccessful defense of Rancagua in 1814.

[1] *Aurora de Chile, 1812–1813, reimpresión paleográfica á plana y renglón con una introducción por Julio Vicuña Cifuentes*, Santiago de Chile, 1903, introducción, vi.

[2] Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1887, VIII, 283.

[3] Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, Santiago de Chile, 1889, I, 6. Chilean historians always refer to the friar of the Buena Muerte as Camilo Henríquez rather than as Camilo Henríquez González.

His only sister, Doña Melchora, married a native of the city of Buenos Aires, Don Diego Pérez de Arce, a son of a family of distinguished Chilean-Argentine stock.[4]

Because his parents were poor, Camilo began his studies in his native Valdivia, one of the poorest cities in poor Chile.[5] Unlike his brother who had a natural bent for military affairs, Camilo early showed an inclination for a life of study; he seemed pensive and melancholic.[6] However, he took full advantage of the opportunities at hand, few though they were, and even at the age of fifteen he was known in Valdivia for his keen judgment and for the high development of his intelligence.[7]

Having completed his early schooling, Camilo Henríquez had to make a choice. Only two professional paths were open to intellectually ambitious Chileans: the Church or the profession of law. Because of Camilo's sober disposition, his parents felt that he should follow the religious one, and they made plans to send him to Lima, to his uncle, Father González, in the convent of San Camilo de Lelis, of the Order of Buena Muerte.[8] Henríquez arrived in Lima in 1784.

Father González put his nephew under the care and direction of Father Ignacio Pinner, also a native of Valdivia, who quickly made friends with Camilo. Under the Father's guidance, Henríquez studied Latin, philosophy, theology, and canon law. These studies would satisfy for his training for the priesthood. Along with this went his practical training in nursing, medicine, hospital routines and organization, public health; this was to be his life, devoting himself to the sick in institutions or homes. Henríquez made good use of the

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[4] Virgilio Figueroa, *Diccionario histórico, biográfico, y bibliográfico de Chile,* Santiago de Chile, 1929, 439.

[5] Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Los Precursores de la Independencia de Chile,* Santiago de Chile, 1870, I, 15.

[6] Luis Montt, *Ensayo sobre la vida i escritos de Camilo Henríquez,* Santiago de Chile, 1872, 18.

[7] Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile,* Paris, 1844, V, 274.

[8] "Henríquez", *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada,* Barcelona, 1930, XX, 72. The Fathers of the Good Death were founded by Camillus de Lellis (1550–1614) in Italy in 1584, for the purpose of taking care of the plague-stricken people. The congregation was officially designated as a religious order by Gregory XIV in 1591. Within forty years the order had established sixteen houses and hospitals and two hundred and forty members had died of plagues contracted during services to the infected in the cities and ships. Houses of the "Camillinos" in the Americas were begun by Father Andrea Sicli, who travelled to Mexico, Peru and Brazil, and died in Portugal on his return in 1694. Most famous of the priests of the order in Lima was Martín de Andrés Pérez, a former professor at Alcalá, who entered the order in Castile, became a superior of its houses in Spain, then went to Lima, where he died at seventy-two in 1770. See *Life of St. Camillus de Lellis,* London, 1850, translated from the Italian of Sanzio Cicatelli and Pantaleone Dolera.

instruction that he received, and Father Pinner appreciated the boy's intelligence and complimented him on his diligence.

The instruction in the convent of the Order of Buena Muerte was exceptionally good for the time. Besides the study of the new ideas for purposes of being able to refute them, advanced thought had crept into the teaching because of the presence there of Padre Isidoro de Celis, the principal professor, author of a book published in Madrid in 1787 that embraced thoughts which influenced the young Valdivian student. The books used contained ideas such as the following: "ignorance is the greatest of all the plagues," "reason is the principal gift God has given to man," "science frees the soul . . .," "the greatest service man can do for his fellow-man is to enlighten him."[9] The environment and the ideas left their mark on the young Chilean.

Young Henríquez neither neglected his studies nor ignored the wisdom of Padre Isidoro de Celis. He did more. Instead of meditating strictly on his required studies, Henríquez made use of all his available extra time by conning books not in the regular course of instruction.[10] The Fathers of the Order and the other students were not interested in the broader meaning of these books—probably because theirs was an active, not a monastic, Order—while Henríquez was already intrigued with the idea of natural right.[11] Camilo dedicated himself with determination and diligence to the study of natural science, medicine (which was later to stand him in good stead), and political science;[12] here he was acquiring the broad foundation of knowledge and intellectual curiosity that was to make him the prophet and pressman of Chilean revolution.

Here, then, in the convent, Henríquez began his study of the French writers of the eighteenth century. Here he learned the liberal ideas that he believed in and used until his death.[13] Though prohibited books were relatively scarce in Lima in those days, there were various intellectual *limenos* who possessed some, chiefly concerning social and political science, brought back by them from Europe on their frequent voyages abroad.[14] And it is known that Camilo Henríquez enjoyed the friendship of the best society of

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9 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* I, 11-12.
10 Gay, *Historia,* V, 274–75.
11 *Ibid.,* V, 275.
12 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez,* 23.
13 "Henríquez", *Enciclopedio,* XX, 72.
14 Aurelio Díaz Meza, *Leyendas y Episodios Chilenos,* Santiago de Chile, XI, 184.

Lima.[15] He read the books with eagerness, and it is said that he stuffed his mattress with the prohibited material.[16]

Henríquez had become acquainted with Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and other French authors,[17] and American writers of the independence period such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine,[18] with whom it may not be too far amiss to compare Henríquez. Thus in his readings he came to know, besides St. Thomas Aquinas, Descartes, Newton, and others.[19] From this reading he developed his philosophy. Immature though it was and subject to change, he nevertheless held fast to its salient points: independence from Spain and the betterment of Spanish America, especially his native Chile.

The spread of forbidden literature in Lima induced the Inquisition to take action. Offenders were brought before the tribunal, and Camilo Henríquez was among them. Details of his case are not available, but it is known that he was kept prisoner for a long time,[20] probably from the middle of 1809 until January of 1810.[21] Finally, in response to the repeated requests of the padres of the Buena Muerte, the Inquisition sent a Father Bustamante to examine Henríquez.[22] The Father decided that Henríquez's orthodoxy could not be put in doubt, and the Holy Office acquitted him. Henríquez himself said that he was set free "without a blot on his honor."[23]

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15 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, I, 17.

16 William Spence Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States*, New York, 1923, 10.

17 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez*, 23; D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 286. Most Chilean writers acknowledge the French influence upon their revolutionary ideas. Francisco A. Encina, however, in his *Historia de Chile*, Santiago, 1947, VI, 39–44, denies it. But, accepting the viewpoint, as Professor Haring does in *The Spanish Empire in America*, New York, 1947, 346, that the revolutions in America were the work of a comparatively few enlightened, keen-witted leaders, and knowing the significance of Henríquez in the Chilean movement, his reading of the French works takes on undeniable importance.

18 *Aurora de Chile*, introduction, vi.

19 John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, New York, 1940, 87.

20 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez*, 24.

21 Díaz Meza, *Leyendas y Episodios*, 184.

22 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez*, 24.

23 "Henríquez", *Enciclopedia*, XX. 439. A. Stuart M. Chisholm in *The Independence of Chile*, Boston, 1911, 185–186, refers to Henríquez as "unfrocked, excommunicated, disgraced . . ." There seems to be no evidence to substantiate the statement that Henríquez was ever unfrocked. I have discussed the matter with various Chilean historians, including Señor Eugenio Pereira Salas, Señor Ricardo Donoso, and Señor Paúl Silva Castro, all of whom agree that from the existing data it is impossible to say that Henríquez was ever excommunicated. José Toribio Medina in his *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Lima (1569–1820)*, Santiago de Chile, 1887, II, 487–502, has published a "Lista de las personas pro-

After his difficulties with the Inquisition, Henríquez was determined to leave Lima. He was sent to Quito, charged with fulfilling a commission for the Order of Buena Muerte[24]—the founding another convent of his order. Together with the Bishop of Quito, Monseñor Cuero y Caicedo, he also worked effectively for the freeing of a group of *quiteño* patriots[25] who, it seems, had been imprisoned in the uprising of 1809 against the royalist forces.[26] Camilo's stay in Quito was important in the development of his later convictions. For among his close friends, besides Bishop Cuero y Caicedo, who was considered very much a patriot by the historian Restrepo,[27] Henríquez enjoyed the friendship of don José Javier Ascásubi, one of the caudillos of the revolution, of the Jesuit Hospital, and of others important in advanced thought[28] in the mountain city.

His stay in Quito seems to have been a turning point in his life. From the 28th of February, 1790,[29] when, "through poverty more than through inclination,"[30] he took the vows as a friar in the Order of the Buena Muerte, until his trip to Quito, some twenty years later in 1810, he had been chiefly a man of thought, a man of study. He had been in that period of life in which he was forming his beliefs, tying together little bits of revolutionary philosophy into a unified whole that was able to persuade him—and through him, his countrymen—to take the drastic steps which meant the consummation of independence. But now, it appears, his Quito stay

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cesadas por el Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Lima de que se da noticia en esta obra." Henríquez is not included in this list. Throughout Carlos Silva Cotapos's volume on *El clero chileno durante la guerra de la Independencia*, Santiago de Chile, 1911, Henríquez is considered a member of his order. José Toribio Medina's *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1890, II, 542, points out that it seems that Henríquez had been accused of reading and lending prohibited books and of having sustained the conclusions of the Synod of Pistoya. Medina also mentions that some have stated that Henríquez was brought before the Inquisition more than once (the year 1802 being given as one of the other dates), but Medina points out that Henríquez spoke of his experience with the Inquisition as only occurring once. Guillermo Feliú Cruz in "Camilo Henríquez, mentor de la Revolucion" in *La Prensa chilena desde 1812 hasta 1840*, Santiago de Chile, 1934, 17, says that Henríquez declared after the incident with the Inquisition that he had read the following prohibited books: "el *Contrato Social* de Rousseau; la *Historia del año dos mil cuatrocientos cuarenta*, por Mercier; y *Los Establecimientos americanos*, del abate Reynal."

[24] D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 283.

[25] Ricardo Larraín Bravo, quoted in Manuel Acuña Peña, *Historia y Geografía*, Santiago de Chile, 1944, III, 160.

[26] Luis Galdames, *A History of Chile*, translated by Isaac Joslin Cox, Chapel Hill, 1941, 160.

[27] Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, I, 22.

[28] *Ibid.*, I, 22.

[29] V. Figueroa, *Diccionario*, 439.

[30] D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 283.

convinced him that his thoughts could be put into action; Camilo Henríquez was leaving the peacefulness of his thoughts and stepping onto the larger stage of South American revolution. That he was not merely a spectator while in Quito seems firmly established by the indictment of the royalist historian, the Franciscan Father Melchor Martínez, who accused him of having been an apostle of the doctrine of independence who had diffused revolutionary propaganda in Quito.[31]

At the end of September, Henríquez left Quito to return to Lima to give account of his commission before his Order.[32] Still firm in his conviction that he would not stay permanently in Lima, he requested his Order to send him to Alto Peru, where existed a convent of the Buena Muerte. His request was granted, and Camilo went to Piura, from which he was to continue to his new residence. There, however, he became seriously ill, as a result, it has been said, of a condition contracted during his imprisonment by the Inquisition.[33]

The year 1810 neared an end, and Henríquez had recovered from his serious illness. He prepared to move on. But at this time one of those little events took place that so often change the course of personal history. A ship, coming from Valparaiso, arrived at the Peruvian port, bringing news that on September 18, 1810, the *cabildo abierto* in Santiago had forced the captain-general to resign and that a provisional junta had taken over.

When Camilo Henríquez learned of these developments in his native land, his patriotic spirit surged. We do not know what permissions to return to Chile were granted by his superior, but he was apparently determined to reach his native land to serve it in every way that he could; he wished to put his information and knowledge to use for the benefit of his countrymen.[34] He wanted "to bring to his own country the fruit of his studies and experiences, and, in effect, from his arrival in Santiago, he began to have influence on the revolutionary spirits, scattering his knowledge in the patriotic societies to which he belonged, encouraging them and even exalting them."[35]

Camilo Henríquez went back to Santiago. After twenty-six years of absence, the friar of the Order of Buena Muerte entered Santiago

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31 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, I, 22.
32 L. Galdames, *History of Chile*, 160.
33 Díaz Meza, *Leyendas y Episodios*, XI, 185. Feliú Cruz in "Camilo Henríquez, mentor de la Revolución", 18, says that Henríquez had pulmonary consumption ("La tisis ya no deja un momento de reposo al pobre fraile").
34 D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 283.
35 Gay, *Historia*, V, 275.

on the last day of 1810. He found the atmosphere of the city permeated with revolutionary thought. The problem of the form of government to be adopted was foremost in the minds of the leaders with whom he soon began to associate. The patriots were sketching lofty plans for their country, but very few people, prevented by the Inquisition from reading tracts on self-government and unaccustomed to leading their own destinies, could formulate into clear, concise, concrete sentences their noble aspirations and republican dreams.[36]

This was the ideal situation for the Valdivian father. But he was obscure and unknown. He had yet to achieve a position of note; he had yet to make known his ability to contribute to the patriot cause. Very soon, though, by his deeds, he was to become Chile's man of the hour; only eight days after having arrived in Santiago, he was catapulted to fame.

In the first days of January, 1811, a valiant proclamation appeared in Santiago. It produced an immediate sensation, for it was the first document which spoke of independence.[37] The proclamation was signed "Quirino Lemáchez,"[38] a pseudonym that was soon discovered to belong to one Camilo Henríquez.

The background for the success of this pamphlet had been well laid. Since the resignation of the captain-general, revolutionary ideas had gained many followers. This was evidenced by the great number of hand-written declarations that had been posted on walls throughout the large cities and that had been circulated from house-to-house. There had been, moreover, frequent incidents between creole and Spaniard. It was becoming obvious that, although the junta had pledged itself to Ferdinand VII, the new national government would resist any return to Spanish domination.[39]

Henríquez began his proclamation by mentioning what had been his own experience. "I come", he said, "from regions near the equator with the single desire of serving you [people of Chile] . . . and sustaining the ideas of good men . . ."[40] He remarked how

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36 D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 283.

37 Mariano Picón Salas, "La Independencia y los ideólogos del progreso (fines del siglo XVIII a 1830)", *Revista Clío*, Año III, no. 5, Santiago, August, 1935, 9.

38 "Henríquez, *Enciclopedia*, XX, 72. The proclamation is quoted in full in the documents section of Fray Melchor Martínez's *Memoria histórica sobre la revolución de Chile desde el cautiverio de Fernando VII, hasta 1814*, Valparaíso, 1848, 314–317. It can also be found in full in the *Colección de Historiadores i de documentos relativos a la Independencia de Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1911, XIX, 223–231.

39 Ricardo Levene, *Historia de América*, Buenos Aires, 1940, V, 355.

40 Encina, *Historia de Chile*, VI, 210.

great was the satisfaction "for a soul born in the hatred of tyranny to see his native land awaken from profound and shameful sleep—sleep that had seemed to be eternal—and to take a great and unexpected step toward liberty." In grandiloquent terms, he spoke of the desirability of this action, comparing it to the actions of Greece, Venice, Holland. He drew a strong comparison between the miserable, colonial state of the English colonies to the north and the Spanish colonies in South America. He told how the English colonies had broken away from their mother country. "Those colonies, or better said, this great and admirable nation, exists for the example and consolation of all people. It is not necessary to be slaves; therefore, a great nation lives fere."[41]

Henríquez then issued his call that Chile should follow the example of the North American colonies: "To the participation of this fate, we are called, oh people of Chile!" He told them how the Spanish regime had mistreated them, perpetrated crimes on them, left them with nothing. He stressed the point that the government in Spain, thousands of miles from Chilean soil, was unable to govern her correctly.[42] They were not slaves: "No one can order you against your will." He wanted to know if anyone had received warrants of heaven to accredit them in ordering the people. "Nature made us equal, and only by the strength of a free, spontaneous, and voluntarily celebrated pact can another man exercise over us a just, legitimate, and reasonable authority." But in regard to Spain, neither they—nor their fathers—had made such a pact.[43] So protested Camilo Henríquez.

The only remedy for all this, the only way to an absolute solution of the problem was a complete and final declaration of independence. "It is then, I write, oh people! in the books of the eternal destinies, that you be free and happy through the influence of a vigorous constitution and a code of wise laws, that you have a time of splendor and of grandeur, that you occupy an illustrious place in the history of the world."[44] Finally, Henríquez pleaded for the necessity of selecting men of education, understanding, and patriotism as representatives to the next Congress.[45]

The proclamation found receptive ears not only in Chile but also in Buenos Aires. Mariano Moreno published it in the *Gaceta de*

41 D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 284.
42 *Ibid.*, VIII, 285.
43 *Ibid.*, VIII, 285.
44 *Ibid.*, VIII, 285.
45 *Ibid.*, VIII, 285.

Buenos Aires on March 5. It was printed also in other American periodicals; and it was reproduced by José María Blanco White in *El Español* in London.[46] It was accepted in Europe as the "truest expression and result of the aspirations of the revolutionaries of Spanish America."[47]

During the months of January, February, and March, Camilo, his patriotism proved and his reputation made, marched side-by-side with the leaders of the government in their attempts to solve their many problems. Henríquez, at this time, earned a reputation for himself by means of his sermons, in which he preached his revolutionary ideas.[48]

Soon, however, he had the opportunity of aiding the patriot cause in a new way. On April 1, 1811, Coronel Tomás Figueroa led a rebellion in Santiago against the Junta. It was quickly put down, but before it was, Camilo Henríquez led a patrol through the streets of Santiago, assisting in every way he could to end quickly the royalist uprising.[49] Dressed in the long black cassock of his Order, with a flaming red cross over his heart, Camilo Henríquez must have seemed a veritable visitation from above who had left his study to put his ideas into use in the revolutionary air of Santiago.

His role as a patrol leader was only part of his activities that memorable day. Figueroa was condemned to death. He wanted a confessor. He asked for the Franciscan Father Blas Alonso. But the Junta preferred sending him someone whose loyalty to the patriot cause was beyond doubt. They sent Camilo Henríquez. The friar of the Buena Muerte performed his unhappy task, and, on leaving the cell of the condemned man, he formed a conviction that lasted him the rest of his life: he was a declared enemy of capital punishment.[50]

A happier task was his in preaching on July 4, 1811, the sermon commencing the solemn opening of the first Chilean national congress. In it, he stressed the significance of the principles of the Catholic religion and the importance of the liberal conquests of the European and North American revolutions. Because the ser-

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[46] *Ibid.*, VIII, 286.
[47] L. Galdames, *History of Chile*, 160.
[48] Díaz Meza, *Leyendas y Episodios*, XI, 188.
[49] Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, I, 22. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna in *El Coronel Don Tomás de Figueroa*, Santiago de Chile, 1884, 109, in speaking about Camilo Henríquez's part in the Figueroa affair, says that "Armed with a big stick and with the cassock of the Buena Muerte over his shoulders, he did not cease preaching to the surprised mob the duty of dying before submitting."
[50] Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, I, 36.

mon had the official approbation of the government it had been previously subjected to revision. As a result, Henríquez was not able to speak with so much freedom as he had in his Quirino Lemáchez proclamation; but though he did not mention the word "revolution," his ideas were clear to all. As the royalist historian, Father Melchor Martínez, has summed it up, Henríquez's ideas were three: (1) the change in government in Chile was authorized by the Church, (2) the change was sustained also by reason, and (3) between the government and the people there existed a reciprocal obligation, the first to promote the happiness of the second, and the second to submit to the government with full obedience and confidence.[51]

After his sermon Camilo Henríquez busied himself with his duties as a member of the National Congress and with his project for the betterment of Chilean education. Here we see Henríquez emerging as a man with broad vision for the future of Chile; he was not merely a revolutionary propagandist, and a good one, but he was also a social thinker who contemplated every phase of Chilean life.

In November of 1811 his plan appeared, and though it had many defects and deficiencies, it was advanced for the time. Even with its deficiencies, according to Amunátegui, the new nation was unable to put the plan into full effect, such was the country's backwardness.[52] The Henríquez plan included classes in Spanish grammar, a course in mathematics, and others in social science and civic education. The course in social science included instruction in political economy. Among the more interesting features of the plan was the teaching of liberal ideas, the sentiment of dignity, and fundamental principles of civil law.[53]

Camilo Henríquez had, as we have seen, already made a memorable contribution to the revolutionary movement in Chile. But he was yet to make his most important one. He was yet to be chosen the first editor of Chile's first newspaper,[54] an ideal post for a man too delicate to fight as a soldier of the line yet too dynamic, too courageous, too full of ideas to be neglected when his countrymen were in mortal peril.

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The struggle to obtain a printing press for Chile in order to publish a newspaper began in 1789 when the *cabildo* of Santiago

51 *Ibid.*, I, 41–42.
52 *Ibid.*, I, 43–44.
53 *Ibid.*, I, 43–44.
54 Amunátegui, *Los Precursores*, I, 15; D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 556; *Aurora de Chile*, introduction, iii.

petitioned the king for permission to establish one.[55] The effort, however, was fruitless, for the colonial government of Chile, which was to pay the expenses of the press as an administrative institution, did not look favorably on the establishment of the press.[56] In the early days of the revolution, the idea was reborn. The temporary government realized the great need of a printing press as a means of spreading propaganda, and the governing junta displayed great zeal in the attempt to obtain one.[57] The first efforts were made through the city of Buenos Aires, where the Junta believed that it might be possible to buy a press. The Argentine port city was already known for its commercial development, but it was unable to furnish the desired printing press.[58]

To the aid of the revolutionary government came, however, one Mateo Arnaldo Hoevel, a Swede by birth, but a naturalized citizen of the United States who was residing as a merchant in Santiago, Chile, at the time. Hoevel was an ardent friend of the revolutionary government, and, since he was a trader with valuable contacts in the United States, he was soon able to put his partiality to the material advantage of the Chilean government.[59] In February, 1811, therefore, when the Junta decreed freedom of commerce for Chile, Mateo Hoevel endeavored to bring from the United States a printing press, typesetters, and accessory equipment.

Along with a battery of artillery, the press arrived at Valparaíso on the American frigate *Galloway* in November, 1811.[60] As soon as it was brought to Santiago, the Carrera government purchased it and installed it in the ancient building of the University of San Felipe. The government also employed three printers from the United States who had accompanied Hoevel. They were Samuel Burr Johnston, William H. Burdige, and Simon Garrison; under a decree of February 1st, 1812, they were paid an annual salary of one thousand pesos each.[61] These three men printed the first twenty-one numbers of the paper that was soon to make its appearance. They did, however, have the help of José Camilo Gallardo, a young Chilean who had had some experience in the art.[62]

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55 Bernard Moses, *The Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America 1810–1824*, New York, 1926, 96.
56 D. Barros Arana, *Historia*, VIII, 556.
57 *Ibid.*, VIII, 556.
58 *Ibid.*, VIII, 556.
59 Henry Clay Evans, Jr., *Chile and its Relations with the United States*, Durham, 1927, 17.
60 *Aurora de Chile*, introduction, i.
61 Moses, *Intellectual Background*, 97.
62 *Ibid.*, 106.

The government's most important task now was to find the best possible editor for the proposed paper. Their search was short. They wanted an editor "endowed with political principles, with religion and talent, and . . . with natural and civil virtues."[63] They wanted Camilo Henríquez.

Henríquez took the position at a salary of 600 pesos per year[64] and immediately put his sensitive fingers to the task. To assist him he enlisted the support of Manuel de Salas, philanthropist and economist, Juan Egaña, an esteemed juris-consult, and the young patriot, Manuel José Gandarillas, among others.[65] On February 13, 1812, this little group published the first number of *La Aurora de Chile,* and from then until April, 1813, when the *Aurora* ceased publication and was replaced by *El monitor araucano,* fifty-eight numbers were published, forty-six between February 13 and December 24, 1812, and twelve between January and April, 1813.[66]

The paper immediately was a great success. According to the royalist historian, Father Melchor Martínez, men

> ran through the streets with the paper in their hands, stopped any friend they met, read, and re-read its contents, and congratulated themselves on their good fortune, hoping that the ignorance and blindness in which they had lived would disappear and be followed by enlightenment and culture, which would transform Chile into a country of wise men.[67]

By our standards, the *Aurora* would hardly deserve such praise, for it was a small, tabloid-size, four-page paper. It printed only a limited list of topics, usually a long article by the editor (in which Henríquez discussed important questions of statistics, agriculture, commerce, and the civilizing of the Indians, as well as revolutionary doctrines), a few items of news, and a few important quotations from a foreign source. Yet for Chile in that day, it is difficult to exaggerate the paper's importance as a vehicle for propaganda, propaganda for making certain of the success of the revolution.

That the selection of Camilo Henríquez as editor was no mistake was evidenced by his eagerness in undertaking any task to make the paper better, more effective. "In his eagerness to fill the pages of the paper with the flower of the world's literary production, he learned English in order to add translations from that language to

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63 *Ibid.*, 97.
64 *Ibid.*, 97.
65 L. Galdames, *History of Chile,* 174.
66 *Aurora de Chile.* Pages 1–192 contain the first 46 numbers of the paper. The numbering begins again with 1 and continues to 48 for the last 12 issues, the 1813 editions.
67 Melchor Martínez, *Memoria Histórica,* 140.

his translations from French, which he knew and spoke, and from Italian, which he learned later . . ."[68] And, though it has been said that Henríquez was poor in ideas as a political writer,[69] he had an erudition that, though not profound, had "an extensiveness which it is impossible not to admire, even today, if one thinks of the difficulty with which he had to contend in acquiring it."[70] He was an elegant writer, though perhaps a little pompous.[71] His vocabulary was abundant. His writing, moreover, covered a great area of knowledge, for he wrote with equal facility on many topics: constitutional law, political economy, public instruction, politics, statistics, colonization, commerce, industry—in general, therefore, on any subject that might be of great concern for the government and the public in their struggle to obtain and maintain an independent and stable state. Perhaps more important, though, was his ability to put his thoughts into terms that the average man could understand. There were others "more learned than he—perhaps Juan Egaña—more lyric and ardent like the poet Vera y Pintado, more caustic like Irisarri; yet none could emulate the Friar in the gift of opportunity," in the ability to put into everyday phrases the ideas of the moment.[72]

Henríquez's first contribution of note to the *Aurora* was an article in the very first issue, entitled "Fundamental Ideas about the Rights of the People."[73] It was a powerful propaganda piece about popular sovereignty. Henríquez broke openly with the doctrine of the divine right of kings. He contended that "the supreme authority gets its origin from the free consent of the people, what we can call a social pact of alliance."[74] The motto of the paper's prospectus, "Viva lo unión, la patria, y el rey," was further denounced in this first issue by Henríquez when he said that it is

> one of the rights of the people to reform the constitution of the state. In fact, the constitution ought to be adapted to the actual circumstances and necessities; as the circumstances vary, the constitution should be changed. There is no law, no custom, that ought to remain fixed if from it proceeds a detriment, an inconvenience, a disturbance of the body politic.[75]

Henríquez's radical ideas were not, however, received with unanimous approval. The provisional government endeavored to control

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68 Agustín Edwards, *Camilo Henríquez*, Santiago de Chile, 1934, 14.
69 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez*, 52.
70 Moses, *Intellectual Background*, 100.
71 V. Figueroa, *Diccionario*, 440.
72 Picón Salas, "La Independencia y los ideólogos", 15.
73 *Aurora de Chile*, Tomo I, no. 1 (February 13, 1812), 1–3.
74 *Ibid.*, 1.
75 *Ibid.*, 2.

his statements. This only irritated the friar. He refused to print the governmental decree and in reply published an extensive extract from John Milton's celebrated treatise on liberty of expression, the *Areopagitica.*[76] After this attempt at censorship, Henríquez became more uncompromising. He wanted a complete change, with no allegiance to the king. To his position, the royalists in Chile were naturally desperately opposed. The fact that they published pamphlets in defense of the viceregal regime was conclusive evidence that the verbal barrage of the editor of *La Aurora* was having telling effect.[77]

Henríquez continued his word war by commenting that not only were strong souls necessary for announcing the public interest, but also that "honest and strong spirits are needed for receiving" the truth. He continued by expressing the idea that now is the time for each one of the revolutionary provinces of America to establish its natural rights.[78] Like Bernardo Monteagudo, he felt that it would be an insult to the American people to admit the necessity of proving that they ought to be independent. Henríquez believed that "we are free because we desire and are able to be free; it is the order of nature, and yet we are treated as rebels."[79] He concluded his argument by stating that there is no pact that binds, nor is "there any convention that enslaves indefinitely all generations; nor is there any religious ceremony prescribed by the violence of depotism that annuls the rights of nature."[80]

The political influence exercised by the United States in Chile during the revolutionary period centers about Henríquez and his writings in the *Aurora,* for it was Camilo who admired, understood, and adapted the North American developments to the Chilean situation. Amunátegui says that Henríquez admired the U. S. as "a model, as an inspiration, as a hope—the Capitol of Liberty!"[81]

Among his translations, which included Raynal's letter to the French National Assembly and a speech in the British Parliament,[82] Henríquez included many North American works. He printed a Fourth of July address delivered in Washington, a speech of President Madison to the Senate, Washington's Farewell Address, various works by Thomas Jefferson, and excerpts from Thomas Paine's

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76 *Aurora de Chile,* introduction, iv.
77 Moses, *Intellectual Background,* 99.
78 *Aurora de Chile,* Tomo I, no. 35 (October 8, 1812), 145.
79 Gay, *Historia,* V, 278.
80 *Ibid., V,* 278.
81 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* I, 93.
82 Moses, *Intellectual Background,* 101–105.

Common Sense.[83] By printing these items, it has been pointed out, Henríquez was trying to show that what he desired for Chile was in perfect harmony with the other events of the age.[84]

In an article entitled "A Memorable Example," Camilo Henríquez once more recalled the impression that the thirteen British colonies had had on him. He cited the case of the Boston blockade and its influence on the rest of the colonies.

> When England declared Boston blockaded and began to oppress the city with all her power, the minds of the people became inflamed and the outcry of religion re-enforced that of liberty. The churches resounded with energetic exhortations against the oppressor. These discourses produced a great effect. When the people invoked heaven against the oppressor, they did not delay in rushing to arms. The rest of the colony became more closely united with the capital, all resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their country rather than to sacrifice their lights. The sentiments of the men of all the provinces were aroused in proportion to the increase of Boston's misfortunes.[85]

The Valdivian cleric foresaw a great future for America as a result of the example of the North Americans. The sacred fire of liberty once lit upon this continent," he said, "will traverse and vivify the most remote parts of the earth."[86]

Henríquez was soon to have occasion to associate with the most important United States citizens then in Chile. On the second of March, 1812, the *Aurora* noted the official reception of Joel Roberts Poinsett as United States representative in Chile.[87] Not long afterward, the *Aurora* printed Henríquez's patriotic hymn, the *Himno patriótico,* which, soon to become popular in Chile, was sung at a meeting of North Americans in Chile, a meeting called by Poinsett.[88]

Henríquez and Poinsett, united by their common admiration for freedom and the United States' approach to attaining it, became fast friends. Their friendship was not injured, either, by an unfortunate incident that took place at Poinsett's meeting where Henríquez's hymn was sung. It seems that during the meeting some of the North Americans present imbibed a bit too much. After a while, they became rowdy and hard to handle. Poinsett, angered,

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[83] *Aurora de Chile,* Tomo I, no. 17 (June 4, 1812), 69; Tomo I, no. 40 (November 12, 1812), 165–167; and Tomo I, no. 44 (December 10, 1812), 181–183.

[84] Moses, *Intellectual Background,* 105.

[85] *Ibid.,* 101–102.

[86] Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations,* 80.

[87] *Aurora de Chile,* Tomo I, Extraordinaria (March 2, 1812), 15.

[88] William Miller Collier and Guillermo Feliú Cruz, *La primeramisión de los Estados Unidos en Chile,* Santiago de Chile, 1926, 61–63.

finally ordered them out of the meeting. A small riot ensued, with a few casualties resulting on both the Chilean and American sides, chief among whom was Burdige, one of the *Aurora* printers, who was shot and mortally wounded.[89] Poinsett finally employed his diplomacy and smoothed over the situation.[90]

Despite the difficulties of the moment, the celebration did aid the cause of Chilean liberty. During the affair preparations were made to act on Henríquez's ideas, among which was the establishment in Chile of a governmental system modelled somewhat upon the government of the United States.[91] A commission of Henríquez and six others was named to draw up a constitution for Chile. Later the commission, composed of, among others, José Miguel Carrera, Henríquez, Antonio Pérez, and Manuel de Salas, met at Poinsett's home for advice and direction. Other meetings were also held at Poinsett's home.[92]

Poinsett's friendship strengthened Henríquez's convictions and soon he printed one of his most stirring editorials. On July 23, 1812, the editor printed one on love of liberty and closed it with the following paragraph:

> In the American provinces formerly subject to the Spanish Empire, a brilliant scene is opened at present. The valour, the resolution of the heroes, the enthusiasm of the ancient and modern republicans has been displayed gloriously for the great cause of national liberty. The sword of expiring tyranny has immolated in some places many victims; but from their blood new heroes have arisen. The genius of liberty presents in these regions a terrible and threatening countenance; undaunted courage and confidence fill the hearts of the patriots; terror and remorse oppress the hearts of the tyrants. The cruelties with which the ancient domination takes leave of the New World, its desperation and bloody fury, even in its latest breath, have made it more odious, have revealed completely its character, have placed men under the necessity of either conquering or dying. Moreover, the American revolution is like all revolutions with respect to the movements it inspires in the mind: the public enthusiasm, the new order of things, continues to reveal unknown talents and extraordinary men. The patriotic fire burns with greater facility and makes its presence more readily manifest in inflammable youth. Youth is the age of energy, of vigour, and of magnanimity. It is capable of great passions; it is also capable of great virtues and high purposes. In revolutions, the spirit is exalted, heroes appear, and occupy the place that belongs to them. In revolutions are manifest

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[89] Dorothy Martha Parton, *The Diplomatic Career of Joel Roberts Poinsett*, Washington, D. C., 1934, 29.
[90] James Fred Rippy, *Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile American*, Durham, 1935, 43.
[91] Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations*, 81–82.
[92] J. F. Rippy, *Poinsett*, 45.

those immortal deeds, those examples of generosity, the admiration of future ages.[93]

Indeed, throughout the *Aurora,*

the articles by Henríquez remain the most striking feature of the publication. They constitute a medley of patriotic exhortations, illustrative narration, and social philosophy, set forth in a style not infrequently assumed by the preachers of a new political gospel. Daring and uncompromising, the writer appears to be conscious of being the first to sound, without faltering note, the trumpet call to stand for liberty and independence.[94]

Though the *Aurora* made a lasting impression on the people of Santiago, it was not a financial success and it was replaced in April, 1813, by a new publication, *El monitor araucano.* This publication, edited at first by Henríquez, was the official organ of the provisional government. It carried on the propaganda so successfully initiated by the Valdivian cleric.[95] In it, Henríquez defended the Indians and deplored Spain's treatment of them; he announced that Chile and the other former colonies of Spain had taken such audacious steps that now it would be impossible to return to the *status quo ante;* and he advocated with all his fervor freedom of commerce, pointing out that the prosperous nations of the world owe their success and riches to their vast commerce.[96]

The *Monitor araucano* gave Henríquez another chance to fight for freedom of the press. Using a method—that of questions and answers—which had come into frequent use in Chile during the revolutionary period, Camilo published in his new paper a *Catecismo de los patriotas.*[97] In it he inquired as to what was one of the clearest signs of the freedom of the people and he answered his own question with the words "freedom of the press." Among the good results he felt would flow from such freedom would be the denunciation of public abuses, the propagation of good ideas, the extension of human knowledge. In the *Catecismo* Henríquez contended that the people have the right of changing and reforming their constitution, because no one generation has the right to subject irrevocably all future generations to their laws. In the *Catecismo,* moreover, Henríquez

93 Moses, *Intellectual Background,* 102–104.
94 *Ibid.,* 104.
95 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* I, 135. The first fifty numbers of *El monitor araucano,* Tomo I, have been reprinted in the *Colección de Historiadores y de documentos relativos a la Independencia de Chile,* Santiago de Chile, 1914, XXVI. Numbers 51–100 of Tomo I and numbers 1–83 of Tomo II can be found in volume XXVII of the above collection, Santiago de Chile, 1930.
96 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* I, 136–144.
97 *Ibid.,* I, 152.

struck another blow at the colonial system, condemning it as the worst of all systems.[98]

While the friar of the Buena Muerte was editing the *Monitor araucano,* he had the opportunity of taking over the editorship of the *Semanaria republicano,* a publication that Antonio José de Irisarri, the violent Guatemalan in the service of Chile, had formerly founded and edited. A fight in the government with Luis Carrera forced Irisarri to resign; Henríquez took charge of the publication, calling it the *Continuación del Semanario republicano.*[99] In it, he wrote under the name of Cayo Horacio. In this paper Irisarri had once reproached Henríquez for his lack of clarity in writing and in it Henríquez himself had spoken of his own poetical bad taste.[100]

With the defeat of the patriots at Rancagua, (October, 1814) Henríquez was forced to leave Chilean soil. He first went to Mendoza, in Argentina, but soon moved on to Buenos Aires. The Argentine government sought from him a report on events in Chile and Henríquez complied by submitting a brief *Ensayo acerca de las causas de los sucesos desastrosos de Chile.*[101] The *Ensayo* revealed Henríquez's political vacillations. He had seen various types of government tried in Chile, had lost faith in the republican form, had concluded that a government ought to be adopted in which the supreme authority would reside in a person of high position, if possible of royal birth.

When in Buenos Aires, Henríquez studied mathematics and medicine. Here he had the opportunity to augment the studies of his early days in the convent in Lima. Before he returned to Santiago in 1822, he was practicing medicine in Buenos Aires.[102] But along with his medical practice, he was still endeavoring to spread political ideas. He translated and published while in Buenos Aires Bisset's *Bosquejo de la democracia.*[103] Henríquez had not yet resigned faith in democratic institutions, for the *Bosquejo* was more an attack on, rather than a defense of, democracy.

In November, 1815, Henríquez had been called to the editorship of the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires,* a position for which he received

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98 Ricardo Donoso, *El Catecismo Político Cristiano,* Santiago de Chile, 1943, 25–26.

99 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez,* 80.

100 Anibal Raposo Morales, "Aspecto intelectual de Chile en los primeros años del siglo XIX, 1800–1820", in *Boletín de la academia chilena de la historia,* III, Santiago de Chile, 1935, 152.

101 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez,* 91–96.

102 L. Galdames, *History of Chile,* 480.

103 "Henríquez", *Enciclopedia,* XX, 72.

1000 pesos annually. Henríquez was required to write monthly a review entitled *Observaciones acerca de algunos asuntos útiles.* However, his editorship was short-lived. He had attacked in his column certain acts of the Argentine government, and, since his position as official editor was to defend governmental policy, he resigned his post. At the end of eight months, Camilo retired from the *Gaceta.*[104]

His other Argentine editorial work included time with the *Censor,* with which he worked from February, 1817, until July 11, 1818. For three years he lived in Montevideo, staying out of politics and the polemics that were a part of his very nature. In 1821, he returned to Buenos Aires to collaborate on the *Curioso,* a periodical devoted to medicine and natural science.[105]

One of Henríquez's interesting activities in Argentina was his participation in the "Sociedad del buen gusto en el teatro," which was formed in Buenos Aires in 1817.[106] Unlike Santiago, which had no theatre, Buenos Aires gave Camilo a chance to experiment with this medium.[107] He had previously formed his ideas about the use of the theatre; he felt that it should be used to increase the patriotic spirit of a people. To that end, Henríquez had tried his own hand at playwriting, with results that were only moderately successful, if, indeed, one can say that much for them. For his pragmatic purposes obscured any possible literary ability he might have manifested in less troubled times. His two most significant dramas were *La camila o la patriota de Sud-América* and *La Inocencia en el asilo de las virtudes.*[108] The first was printed; the second was never published. Though they are recognized as being no more than mediocre literary works, they are important for what they reveal of the ideas and sentiments of Camilo Henríquez.

In *La camila o la patriota de Sud-América,* he remarks that danger discovers talents and heroism, unfolds patriotism that otherwise would not have been revealed. Love of native land, he contends, leads to victory. He ends poetically by proclaiming that a time will arrive when the people will no longer be uncertain or vacillating, when "by sea and land, the glorious flag of liberty and union will sparkle majestically." In *La camia,* Henríquez also revealed his ideas

104 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez,* 99.
105 *Ibid.,* 113.
106 A. Edwards, *Camilo Henríquez,* 20.
107 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* I, 298.
108 *Ibid.,* II, 309–385. Amunátegui has published the full text of both of these plays at the end of the second volume of his two-volume work on Henríquez.

on immigration of foreigners into Chile. In the play, one of the characters speaks out:

> If America does not forget Spanish prejudices and does not adopt more liberal principles, never will it become more than a Spain overseas, as miserable and as obscure as European Spain. For remedying the grievous depopulation of America and its backwardness in the arts and agriculture, it is necessary to call foreigners by the attractiveness of impartial, tolerant, and fatherly laws.[109]

From these two examples alone, it is evident that Henríquez thought of the theatre as more than a mere medium for amusement; he put it to work. It was to him and to other fathers of the Hispanic-American Revolution a social institution "whose principal object was propagating patriotic rules and forming civic customs."[110] The early patriots feared that schools and newspapers might produce results too slowly, whereas the theatre could stir men to action quickly.[111]

Henríquez himself once wrote in the *Aurora*: "I consider the theatre only as a public school, and in this respect it is incontestable that the dramatic Muse is a great instrument in the hands of politicians." He criticized the actions of poets and writers who fell into the hands of despotic governments, but he went on to remark that there were other authors "whose names will be loved by the people, whose works will be liked while there are men who know how to think and to feel" because these writers "recognize the object of dramatic art."[112] He contended that now the writers, in their hour of national crisis, ought "to breathe noble sentiments, to inspire hatred of tyranny and unfold all the dignity of republicanism." He ended in a moving burst of passion: "Ah! Then the tears will not be sterile. Their fruit will be hatred of tyranny and the execration of tyrants!"[113]

Henríquez's exile was soon to end, for with the victory of the revolutionary forces in Chile and the acquisition of power by Bernardo O'Higgins, Camilo had the right to return. He had the right to and he wanted to, but his miserable financial condition prevented his doing so. As usual, Camilo's only earthly possessions were a few books.

His friends in Chile had not, however, forgotten him. Manuel

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109 Vicente Pérez Rosales, *Recuerdos del pasado, 1814–1860*, Buenos Aires, 1945, 73.

110 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Las primeras representaciones dramáticas en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1888, 101.

111 *Ibid.*, 103.

112 *Ibid.*, 101–102.

113 *Ibid.*, 102.

de Salas, one of the most influential and patriotic Chilean intellectual figures of the day, with whom Henríquez had been corresponding, collected some five hundred pesos from various persons in Chile and sent the sum to Henríquez to defray some of his expenses of the return journey.[114] Likewise, Bernardo O'Higgins wrote to Henríquez on November 3, 1821, telling him that he (O'Higgins) was writing to the Chilean agent in Buenos Aires, Zañartu, to give to the Valdivian the money necessary for the trip home. It was in this letter that O'Higgins wrote that Henríquez's talent and knowledge were necessary both to Chile and to the head of the Chilean government himself.[115]

Henríquez came back to Chile full of ideas for the betterment of his native land. He had already previously written on January 1, 1822, to Manuel de Sales that Chile lacked a monthly publication like the English reviews. He recommended that the two of them see what they could do about it.[116] As a result, soon there appeared in Santiago a new periodical, *El Mercurio de Chile.* To Henríquez, the new publication was to secure the most difficult part of the revolution, the formidable part of peaceful consolidation. *El Mercurio* was conceived as an instrument for "reforming old abuses, removing obstacles, destroying, constructing—in a word, planning a civilization."[117]

Henríquez wrote a careful and inclusive prospectus for the review. He wrote that in *El Mercurio* would appear news from Europe and from other parts of America, along with selected portions of the important discourses pronounced in the "six great tribunes of the world." The friar of the Buena Muerte felt that social and administrative science deserved a prominent place in his *revista.* He did not neglect discussion of questions of legislation and political economy. Henríquez recognized the lack of statistical information in Chile and dedicated *El Mercurio* to the task of filling some of the gaps in that branch of knowledge. Camilo's interest in books was also manifested in the review, for he suggested that it should contain brief bibliographical articles. "The plan of the *Mercurio de Chile,*" Henríquez wrote in his prospectus, "is so broad

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114 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* II, 20. A fragment of the appeal to aid Henríquez, written by Manuel de Salas, can be found in *Escritos de Don Manuel de Salas y documentos relativos a él y a su familia,* Santiago de Chile, 1910–1914, II, 209.

115 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *La alborada poética en Chile,* Santiago de Chile, 1892, 62–63.

116 A. Edwards, *Camilo Henríquez,* 20–21.

117 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez,* 119.

and comprehensive, it demands such a variety of talents, knowledge, work and relations, that it should be rather the enterprise of a literary society than of an individual." But since such a literary society did not exist in Chile then, Camilo Henríquez asked for the cooperation and patience of his readers and began the task himself.[118] Yet, despite his eager and energetic activity, the *revista* did not long survive. *El Mercurio* joined *La Aurora* and the other early Chilean journalistic attempts by ceasing publication on April 21, 1823. Still, before it went to its grave, it had led a distinguished life as the first of Chile's reviews.

Soon Henríquez returned for the last time to the Chilean press. He made his last appearance over an important question of policy—whether or not O'Higgins, who had fallen from power, should be put in command of an expedition to Peru. Henríquez, an admirer and friend of O'Higgins, and still mindful of O'Higgins' help toward his return to Chile, was no myrmidon to his emotions. The friar published his opinion of opposition to the untimely scheme in *El Imparcial de Chile,* a periodical also of short life.[119]

Camilo Henríquez after his return served Chile in various capacities. He became secretary of the Senate which was formed on March 30, 1823, by the plenipotentiaries of Santiago, Concepción, and Coquimbo.[120] When, following the fall of O'Higgins, Ramón Freire took over the Chilean government, that stormy petrel, being a better fighter than a statesman, formed a *senado conservador* upon which he depended for advice. It was composed of nine members. Henríquez was among them, performing again the duties of secretary.[121]

On July 19, 1823, the government ordered the establishment of a *Biblioteca nacional.* By a decree promulgated on the 22nd of the same month, Henríquez was made the first national librarian, at a salary of five hundred pesos a year.[122]

Thus, Camilo Henríquez had returned to the surroundings he loved most, to the world of books and education and thought. But before the shadows fell completely, he was able to advocate reforms for Chilean mines, hospitals, schools. Previously he had suggested the planting of oranges as an industry of possible importance for Chile, just as he had once proposed the planting of the trees in the

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118 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* II, 45–47.
119 Montt, *Camilo Henríquez,* 121–22.
120 A. Edwards, *Camilo Henríquez,* 22.
121 L. Galdames, *History of Chile,* 224; Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez,* II, 171–72.
122 Amunátegui, *La alborada poética,* 95.

barren, filthy Cañada de Santiago. He felt that the trees would give both beauty to the area and fruit "of which the children and the poor may make use."[123] Camilo's mind was not one that would quit fighting merely because his days as newspaperman and statesman were over.

From the friar's many activities, we may surmise, as Miguel Luis Amunátegui has written, that

> the reform that Camilo Henríquez desired to be realized was not partial but total. It was a reform that embraced all, from the discipline of the hospitals to public education, from the cultivation of the fields and the working of the mines to the civilizing of the Araucanians, from the cleanliness of the streets to the organization of government.[124]

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Henríquez had fought the battle of Chile on paper, from the pulpit, and in all the activities of his life. He was the most important religious figure in Chile's struggle for freedom. And though he left the daily functions of his Order behind him when he stepped onto Chilean soil at the end of 1810, it was as "Fray Camilo" that he contributed his part to the revolutionary history of Chile.[125] His part had been a strenuous one, though, and soon he was to find rest.

Time had drained the friar's meager reservoir of physical strength. His thin frame had bent under the heavy and forceful winds of political and religious controversy that marked his return to Chile. Never had his sallow and pallid face, his sloping shoulders, indicated his alert mind and his acute intellect; certainly now in these waning days his physical appearance was to disclose the fact that the years had taken their share from Camilo Henríquez. His poverty and his illness had contributed their part to the weakening of Chile's cassock-covered knight of the written word, and his days were numbered.

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123 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Los precursores de la independencia en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 1909, I, 26.

124 *Ibid.*, I, 25.

125 Amunátegui, *Camilo Henríquez*, II, 289–90. Amunátegui points out that though the reading of the French philosophers may have put religious doubts into Camilo's mind, when he came to Chile he practiced all the ministries of the priesthood. The Chilean historian gives as proof of his conclusion the fact that Henríquez was confessor for Tomás Figueroa and that he had preached the sermon for the instalation of the National Congress of July 4, 1811. Amunátegui also points out that he had talked with a person who had heard a mass said by Henríquez. All these were religious functions and Henríquez must have been in good standing after his return to Chile to have performed them. Chilean historians, too, almost always refer to Henríquez as the "Friar of the Buena Muerte."

He died an untimely death at the age of fifty-six on the 16th of March, 1825. "From that day, his apotheosis began, which will not end as long as his native land exists and any of his brothers live. He is the hero . . . and the image of his patriotism lives . . ."[126] Death had brought an end to his relentless fight for the prosperity of his native land, but, in the final alembic, Henríquez had seen accomplished during his lifetime what he most greatly desired. "What he wished was to instruct the people about their rights and about the fate that awaited them; to leave in their hearts the love of liberty and to prepare them thus, little by little, for the coming of independence, which was the principal object of his most profound meditations."[127]

IRVIN M. LANDE

Santiago de Chile.

126 V. Figueroa, *Diccionario*, 440.

127 Gay, *Historia*, V, 277.

Henríquez's remains rest in the cemetery at Valdivia. Figueroa says that a monument has been erected to him in the cemetery of Santiago. The present newspaper association in Santiago bears the name "Asociación de Periodistas 'Camilo Henríquez'." In 1941, the Chilean government issued a postage stamp commemorating the life of Camilo Henríquez; it shows Henríquez seated, wearing the cassock with the cross over his heart and with a newspaper in his hand. One of the principal streets in Valdivia bears his name and a statue has been erected to him in the Plaza.

Cadillac, Proprietor of Detroit

Editor's Introduction

A few days before his death on May 9, 1949, Father Jean Delanglez submitted the manuscript for a volume on Cadillac as his contribution to the celebration in 1951 of the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the city of Detroit. The book was to be of ten chapters. The contents of seven of these have already been published in this quarterly. Due to many circumstances it will now be impossible for the Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University to publish the volume as planned. We feel, however, that the last three chapters of the manuscript should appear with their predecessors in these pages in order to complete the story of Cadillac and to present the final research of our late colleague.

It may be well to summarize briefly the articles as they have appeared in MID–AMERICA for a better understanding of the following pages. "Cadillac's Early Years in America," published in January, 1944, covers what is known of Cadillac's life from 1658 to 1694. His original name was Antoine Laumet. Born March 5, 1658, in the hamlet of Les Laumets, he was baptized on March 10 in nearby Saint-Nicholas-de-la-Grave, near Caumont, Tarn-et-Garonne, France. There are no records of him until about 1683, when he landed in Acadia. Governor Meneval of Acadia later characterized him as: "one Cadillac, the most malicious man in the world, a rattle-headed fellow, driven out of France for I know not what crimes."

Shortly after his arrival in Acadia Laumet shipped with François Guyon, a privateer, for voyages to the New England coast. He married Guyon's niece in Quebec on June 25, 1687. On this occasion he falsely certified himself as: "Antoine de Lamothe, Escuyer, sieur de Cadillac," thus issuing to himself a patent of nobility. His coat of arms was likewise fashioned by himself. Returning with his bride to Port Royal he received a grant of twenty-five miles on the present Sullivan River, Maine, in July, 1688. This lay undeveloped while he formed a cabal in Port Royal with two officials to violate the trade regulations. When these were summarily recalled to France in 1687, he connived with their successors, engaging in forbidden trade. When these were chastened, Cadillac turned his wits toward other means of making money.

Frontenac arrived in 1689 to replace Denonville as governor of New France. He stopped at Port Royal and ordered that it be fortified. Cadillac was appointed to supervise the workmen. But with King William's War on, the government thought of an attack on the New England colonies. A reconnoitering expedition was made ready. Cadillac was asked to sail with it in virtue of his knowledge of the coast. His ship, leaving Port Royal November 8, 1689, was driven to the Azores, and finally put in at Rochefort on December 23. He was in poverty in France for months, begging for a subsidy and for a recompense for his loss in business while on the reconnaissance. He wrote a glowing recommendation of his ability to Louis XIV, asking for a major's post in Acadia. He claimed to know

the country very well from Acadia to Carolina and he claimed proficiency in the English, Spanish, and Indian languages. Seignelay, the minister, or some official, annotated the letter for the king noting that Cadillac was "very wide awake," "clever," "an adventurer," "necessary in case of an attack on New York," and that he should be warned of punishment "if he should lapse into his earlier faults."

He was still in France without money in July, 1690, but in December he was in Quebec. He won the favor of Frontenac, with whom he never quarreled, though he did quarrel, according to his own statement and all evidence, with "the intendant, the governor-general, the bishop, the priests, the curés, the Jesuits, in short, everybody," and, he boasted, "I always succeeded in everything I undertook, in spite of them, in spite of everybody, and this solely because of the strength of my own genius." Frontenac gave him a lieutenancy for the expedition against the Iroquois in July, 1691, which was ratified March 1, 1693, by the king. During 1692 Frontenac and Cadillac had composed memorials, advocating a sea attack on New York, rather than an overland attack. Cadillac's reward was the lieutenancy, and 1,500 livres for his losses. Frontenac thereupon made Cadillac a captain. In April, 1894, the king confirmed this and added, at Cadillac's request, a commission as naval ensign. Frontenac appointed Cadillac commandant of Michilimackinac in the summer of 1694, and the latter left Montreal for that post, September 28, 1694.

The study of "Antoine Laumet, Alias Cadillac, Commandant at Michilimackinac," was made in three articles in the April, July, and October MID-AMERICA numbers of 1945. The French military and trade post was the very important fur center for some thirty western tribes. The key tribes were the Huron and Ottawa, who lived in two villages beside the French village and fort. After the Lachine massacre of the French by the English-backed Iroquois in 1689, the Huron and Ottawa, seeing the French helplessness, were entertaining ideas of going over to the English cause. Frontenac sent Louvigny to command at the post presumably to check the defection, but actually to tighten the controls on the traders. There were twenty-five licenced traders whose *congés,* or annual trade permits, limited both the quantity of merchandise and pelts tradable and specified the places where trade was permissible. It is easy to see that a grafting official could make a tidy sum by allowing licenced traders to carry more merchandise and brandy to the posts and bring back more pelts, by allowing settlers or soldiers more than enough supplies for their own use, and by not questioning traders who met the Indians in the woods or in their villages. Louvigny tried to enforce the laws and the Jesuit missionaries inveighed against the unrestricted brandy trade and the Indian orgies that followed. Louvigny resigned rather than circumvent the laws. Cadillac was appointed to Michilimackinac as one who would see eye to eye with Frontenac.

The chief obstacles to Cadillac's plan of enrichment and to the demoralization of the Indians at Michilimackinac were first the Jesuit missionaries, Nouvel, Gravier, Marest, Pinet and Carheil, secondly, the contractors of Montreal, into whose monopoly he was cutting, and thirdly, the Iroquois-English traders. Even so, the post was lucrative. Cadillac's entire capital in 1694 was his pay of 1,000 livres a year, yet three years later he

was able to send part of his profits, 27,000 livres, to France, and this in the face of royal orders restricting the trade, an ordinance stopping officers from trading, and a general slump in the fur business. The war between the Jesuits and the Frontenac-Cadillac combination over the scandalous fleecing of intoxicated Indians was fought in many pages of letters to and from France. Cadillac versus the Jesuits was one phase of the fifty-year conflict between all the clergy of New France and the brandy distributors. Cadillac's trouble with the contractors and their agents got him haled into court. As for the Iroquois, he tried the "brandy diplomacy." He won over the western chiefs briefly with the promises of brandy, but after a skirmish with the Iroquois no amount of liquor could tempt them to an all-out war against their enemies.

The fur business had gone from bad to worse. The French market was glutted; the furs were inferior and could be used only for hats; the hat makers were closing shop. Men in the trade and business sought government regulation. Therefore, Louis XIV issued a law on May 21, 1696, which effected radical changes in the economic life of New France. He abolished all *congés,* forbade all trade in the woods, and ordered the withdrawal of the garrisons from the western posts. He denounced the disorder, crimes, and debauchery stemming from the conduct of trade and feared the imminent ruin of the colony. The penalty for disobeying his orders would be imprisonment in the galleys. The king was convinced that Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph had been founded to "satisfy the greed of a few officers rather than to defend the colony."

Governor Frontenac sought to defend himself at the expense of talebearing Jesuits, stupid fur contractors, and improvident hat makers. He used all pretexts for delaying the recall of the traders and garrisons but ordered the missionaries in from their fields. In fact, fifteen months after the edict, on August 29, 1697, when Cadillac reached Montreal with only a few companions, Cadillac was apparently utterly unaware of the royal declaration. He had come east for other reasons and by September 11 was meeting in council with Frontenac, resolving to abandon the western posts.

In Quebec, the intendant, Champigny, had exerted his authority as a law-enforcement agency, quite unsympathetic with the whole Frontenac-Cadillac program. He had notified Cadillac to stop his exactions from the traders and to stop contraveneing the king's orders. Many and continuous complaints against Cadillac eventuated in a summons for a court hearing in Quebec. People who had been wronged had theretofore feared Frontenac's wrath if they lodged complaints, and judges had feared to render justice. Now aware of Champigny's firm stand, the judges fined Cadillac. He appealed his case to the council, which referred the decision to Champigny. Despite the threats of Frontenac, the intendant retried the case and ordered Cadillac to pay the fine of 2,565 livres. Again backed by the governor Cadillac appealed his case to the minister in France, but ultimately settled with his suers by paying his debts. Thus, after more than a year's trouble in lawsuits, Cadillac sailed for France in the latter part of October, 1698, bearing Frontenac's letters. He arrived at the end of the year, unaware of Frontenac's death.

Undaunted by his rather complete failure as an administrator Cadillac drafted a detailed plan for establishing a new settlement on the strait

connecting Lake Huron and Lake Erie. In early 1699 he submitted this to the king, who on May 27, 1699, referred it to the new governor, Callières, and Champigny, for examination in Quebec. The details are considered in the article: "The Genesis and Building of Detroit," published in the April, 1948, MID–AMERICA. With Cadillac's plan went another, the proposal of Sieur Charron, director of the hospital of Montreal. The court was agreed that a fort should be established at Detroit, and it hoped that the details of its ownership, administration, trade, and other problems, might be arranged from the two proposals. Cadillac was told to betake himself to Quebec for the hearing on his plan. He arrived there in the late summer of 1699.

When the assembly met, Callières ignoring Cadillac's utopian ideas for making Frenchmen out of the Indians, felt that the Iroquois would take unbrage at the infringement on their hunting grounds, while the western allies, if brought together at Detroit, would be too close to the English traders. Champigny expressed his vote of no confidence whatever in Cadillac or his projects. The contractors saw in the plan an attempt to destroy their monopoly at Michilimackinac. The post would cut deeply into the fur business of the Montreal traders and moreover would cancel the heavy debt owed to them by the Indians. The summary of the decision signed by the officials on October 20, 1699, was sent to France. Charron's plan to make a stock company, composed of colonials, the proprietor of the post was accepted. Cadillac, seeing the doom of his hopes of establishing himself in a new and lucrative position, hastened back to Paris to present his personal report.

There he got the ear of the new minister of the colonies, Jerome Pontchartrain, who had succeeded his father Louis in 1699. Cadillac received the appointment to establish Fort Pontchartrain and arrived back in Quebec in the late summer of 1700. Although on February 9, 1700, the king had transferred the sole right of trade at Detroit from a large Montreal contractor to the new company, the Compagnie de la Colonie, the colonials did not ratify the contract until October 8, 1701. Cadillac spent the last months of 1700 and the first of 1701 bickering, writing letters, considering angles for profit, and organizing his soldiers, traders, and settlers. Before June, 1701, he had moved to Montreal, leaving in Quebec many opponents to the founding expedition, and finding more in Montreal.

The Iroquois chiefs were gathering to sign the peace made in 1700. Lest they hear about the Detroit project and balk, the authorities hastened Cadillac's departure. On June 4, 1701, sieurs de Lamothe and Alphonse Tonti, captains, with one hundred soldiers and settlers, a chaplain, and a temporary Jesuit missionary left Montreal in twenty-five loaded boats. They went by way of the Ottawa River to Lake Huron, then south to the St. Clair River and Lake St. Clair, arriving July 24 at the site of present Detroit. They built Fort Pontchartrain across what is now Shelby Street, between Wayne and Griswold, in a month's time. Tonti was sent as a check on the ambitious Cadillac. The latter's rattle-brain ideas had much to do with making the place an administrative headache during the years 1701–1703 as Delanglez shows in the articles on "Cadillac at Detroit," (MID-AMERICA, July and October, 1948).

After constructing a warehouse he wrote Pontchartrain begging that

the region between Detroit and Niagara be made an independent province and that he be appointed governor. The customary pioneer troubles abounded. Provisions ran out; the Canadians were dissatisfied; soldiers were unpaid and some deserted; the workmen were hungry and dwellings unfinished. Though two canoes with victuals arrived, as did the wives of Cadillac and Tonti, no Indians came near. When the Ottawa and Huron chiefs finally came for a pow-wow on October 3, they refused flatly to move from Michilimackinac arguing that the land at Detroit was useless, marshy and without game or fish. Cadillac blamed the Jesuits for this refusal and for trying to wreck his settlement, forgetting that the fathers had to follow, not lead, the Indians to new village sites.

To his chagrin official word finally arrived on July 18, 1702, making Detroit the property of the Company of the Colony rather than of Cadillac. Three days later he left for Quebec, where he signed the Company contract for an annual salary of 2,000 livres and food and board for himself and family. Now, as an officer of the king, he could do no trading. The salary was not much, but it was treble the niggardly pittance which France had previously given him. Considering the starvation salary scale of the time, Delanglez holds the court much to blame for the law evasions and frequent gains by officers through occult compensation, but holds Cadillac alone responsible for his mendacious attacks on any actual or suspected opponent of his schemes, especially the Jesuits.

Cadillac left Quebec at the end of September, 1702, and got back to Detroit November 6. The trade possibilities were practically nil for his post and more complicated outside it. The Huron and Ottawa were then attracted by the cheaper English goods carried by Iroquois middlemen. The Miami at Fort St. Joseph and around Chicago were already negotiating with the Iroquois. All of this Cadillac refused to believe, though no Indians visited Detroit for a month. The Jesuit missionaries at Michilimackinac, whose services Cadillac was bent upon having in the hope that they would be followed by the Ottawa and Huron, were ready to leave, but according to the orders of Callières could do so only if the Indians moved. The Indians had no reason to move and every reason to stay. The scheme of Cadillac seems to have been to fix it so that the profit of the Company of the Colony would be so little that the directors would be glad to give Detroit to him. Then if Michilimackinac could be destroyed as a center, Detroit would come into its own.

The government was more interested in Detroit as a holding and defence point against the British. The trade alliances with the Miami and Iroquois boded evil. If the Ottawa and Huron got similar ideas the west would be lost to France. Michilimackinac had to be retained to keep the Indians there in peace, and also to satisfy Montreal and other traders. Detroit would have to be supported as a defence, and certainly in view of the interests of the new company. Considering the difficult western situation the governor invited the western chiefs to a conference at Montreal. The leading schemer of the west was one Michipichy, a Huron chief, known to the French as Quarante Sols, who had learned enough of business and diplomatic ways to play off French and British, Mohawk and Miami, Cadillac and the Montreal merchants, even Ottawa and Huron, to his best advantage.

I. Indians and Jesuits

When the chiefs of the west reached Montreal, Callières had been dead several months, and Vaudreuil, as acting governor general, received them.[1] The Huron and Miami made their speeches on July 14, 1703, and the Ottawa on September 27. In turn they expressed sorrow over the death of Callières and hopes for the friendship of the new Onotio, whose wishes they had come to ascertain. The Huron Quarante Sols, playing his game, said that the Mohawk had approached him with presents from the English to invite his people to Orange and had also promised the Miami cheaper goods if they would go over to the English.[2]

Vaudreuil answered the feeler by showing more complete knowledge of the scheme than the Indian had divulged. He handled the matter as, he said, Cadillac should have done earlier, telling Quarante Sols that Onontio was well informed of the English offers and that he was "glad to see the Huron and Miami united, and exhorts them to continue so. The late Callières had invited him Quarante Sols to settle at Detroit; he Vaudreuil does the same, and would permit Sastaretsy head Huron chief at Michilimackinac to go and join him there." Champigny's comment on the English invitation likewise hit Cadillac:

> It is the result of the intrigues of Quarante Sols, which seem but too well founded. Sieur de la Mothe ridiculed the Jesuits when they warned him of these intrigues and said that their warning was a device to prevent the Indians from coming to Detroit.[3]

On the same day the Miami spoke, but made no mention of dealing with the English. Vaudreuil, however, warned them against sending any delegation to the enemy, saying how displeased Onontio would be. He exhorted them to be always attached to sieur de Lamothe. So also did he speak to Le Pesant, chief of the Ottawa-Sinago sub-tribe, traveling with Quarante Sols. The representative of the Ottawa of Michilimackinac, speaking on September 27, said in unmistakable terms that they would never move to Detroit, no matter what Cadillac offered. They wanted to live and die in their

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[1] His commission as governor general is dated August 1, 1703; Pierre-George Roy, ed., *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1939*, (RAPQ) Québec, 1939, 10.

[2] Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, (NYCD) Albany, 1855, Vol. 9, 752–753, Speeches of the Hurons to M. de Vandreuil, July 14, 1703.

[3] NYCD, 9:753.

village and they wanted a French commandant. Since Cadillac had accused the Jesuits of preventing the Indians from moving to Detroit, Champigny commented:

> These words spoken to the governor general, in presence of the intendant, of the clergy, of the officers and of the principal inhabitants of the colony, cannot be called in doubt, whereas the speeches of sieur de Lamothe, who is all by himself at Detroit, are questionable.[4]

Neither Quarante Sols nor Le Pesant stayed very long in Montreal; they had certainly left by the time the Ottawa of Michilimackinac came to speak to Vaudreuil, for on August 20 both were already palavering at Detroit. The *leit-motiv* of their speeches comes to this: Cadillac has promised to sell goods cheaply, yet they do not see any difference between the price they are paying now and the price they paid previously. Callières had told them, said Le Pesant, that

> the Jesuits of Michilimackinac would come with us to Detroit. You sent for them last spring; but our people there reported that the Jesuits do not depend on you, and that you are not their commandant. This must be true, for they are not coming, although we know that you sent a canoe to fetch them.[5]

"I believe," answered Cadillac, "that the Jesuits will come this autumn, as M. de Vaudreuil notified me. You must not doubt that I am their commandant as well as the commandant of all the French who are in this country." And in a note, he added: "M. de Lamothe does the opposite of what he says in the hope of soon leaving Detroit, for the Company of the Colony, and MM. de Vaudreuil and Beauharnois [the Intendant] have acted wrongly toward him." On the other hand, Champigny commented thus: "I do not know what his complaints against MM. de Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois might be. He apparently fears that they will unmask him. This merely shows that he is against everybody. Is it not more natural to believe that the whole colony is right than a simple individual?" Cadillac is then reported to have said: "If the Jesuits have waited so long before coming to Detroit, the reason may be that they have not yet been given what they need. This is what they wrote to me when I sent for them this spring." Champigny could not refrain from exclaiming: "This manner of speaking is quite different from that he had used before!"[6]

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[4] Speeches of the Ottawa of Michilimackinac, 27 September, 1703, NYCD, 9:750.

[5] Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Francais dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1876–1888, 5:295.

[6] Archives des Colonies, Paris, (AC), C 11E, 14: 101.

Cadillac, however, had something else in mind; he wanted to have absolute authority at Detroit. This is clear from the words of Le Pesant. This Indian is supposed to have said that if they are obliged to buy from only one warehouse, they will go to the English. "If," noted Champigny, "they go to the English, M. de Lamothe will be the cause of it."[7] Then Le Pesant complained that the Indian children were not educated like those of the French. In the note to this passage, Cadillac says: "They [*on*] were given to understand that there would be a seminary for the instruction of their children." Le Pesant attributes these words to Challières, but there is nothing about the Frenchification scheme in the governor's speeches to the Hurons or Ottawa at Montreal. This outlandish idea, which Champigny called "chimerical," was Cadillac's own invention. Callières is also saddled with another complaint of Le Pesant's—there is no brandy in Detroit. Some liquor had been sent to Lamothe, but naturally not enough to entertain the Indians. "Brandy trade," said Champigny, "is forbidden at Detroit. Sieur de Lamothe himself asked for the prohibition."[8]

When his turn came to speak, Quarante Sols repeated more or less what La Pesant had said. One remark is pertinent, because of Cadillac's comment on it: "When you came here inviting us to settle near you, you did not explain to us that the trade would be in the hands of the Company." Cadillac commented as follows: "M. de Lamothe did not know it either, for if he had, he would not have asked the Court to found the post, because he knows the mind of the Indians."[9] Champigny must have been waiting for some such statement: "I do not doubt," he notes, "that if sieur de Lamothe had known that the trade of this post was to be given to the Company, he would not have begun it. What he had in mind does not fit in with the good order kept at Detroit."[10]

In the rest of his speech Cadillac claimed that he was not the master at Detroit; the reason why the children of the Indians were not educated like those of the French was that war was then being waged in Europe. He exhorted the Indians not to go to the English, and then goes on to say: "It is true that when I came to De-

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[7] AC, C 11E, 14: 99v.

[8] *Ibid.*, 100.

[9] Margry, 5: 297 note. Cf. Remarks made by M. de Lamothe concerning the Board of Directors in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections and Researches*, (MPHS), Vol. 33, Lansing, Michigan, 1904, 152.

[10] AC, C 11E, 14: 100.

troit, merchandise belonged to the king," but now all the goods belong to the Company.

It is perfectly clear that Cadillac wanted to take the place of the Company. At about this time, he sent to Paris a fanciful balance sheet showing the huge profits made by the shareholders, ranging from 200 to 700 per cent.[11] Of course it was much easier to compute the profits made by other people; as we shall see, when the trade at Detroit is given to him, he tells quite another story.

Two days after the meeting with the Indians, Cadillac sent an interminable letter to Pontchartrain, and a shorter one to La Touche. Margry published both letters,[12] which have been translated into English.[13] The one sent to the minister was summarized and given to Champigny for his remarks which, as we have already pointed out, were omitted by Margry. We shall comment on this letter, which was obviously written with interruptions and abounds in repetitions.

Its opening paragraphs disclose what he had in mind. He had written at length last year,[14] he said, and is writing again this year, "without knowing what decision you have taken concerning the establishment of Detroit." He then speaks of the agreement between himself and the Jesuits; those of Michilimackinac, however, have not yet moved to Detroit, and Marest, instead of coming to Detroit, went to Quebec. The Jesuits, he goes on to say, are absolutely opposed to the Indians coming to Detroit. "You wish that I be their friend and that I do not cause them any trouble. On reflection I found only three ways of getting along with them: the first is, to let them alone; the second, to let them do all they please; and the third, to say nothing about what they are doing."

In the margin of the abstract from this letter, Champigny wrote: "If there is such an incompatibility between the Jesuits and himself, why does he want to force them to come to Detroit? There are many other priests and Recollects; all he needs in his post is one missionary."[15] Cadillac, however, wanted two things: one was to destroy Michilimackinac; the other was to have somebody close at hand with whom he could quarrel.

He then enumerates the tribes that had by then come to Detroit. Only twenty-five Hurons remain at Michilimackinac with Father de

11 MPHS, 33: 152.
12 Margry, 5: 301–340.
13 MPHS, 33: 161–171, and 182–184.
14 He refers to his letter of September 25, 1702. MPHS, 33: 133–151.
15 AC, C 11E, 14: 138v.

Carheil, he said, but these too will come to Detroit next autumn: "I am convinced that this obstinate *curé* will die in his parish with no one to bury him." The rest of the Ottawa-Sinago and the Kishkakon would be in Detroit after the harvest; these Indians had sent word that they were coming, but this would have to be done secretly. "Such a procedure shows that they are restrained, and have been intimidated by the fears which have been insinuated in their minds that a dirty trick will be played on them if they come here." The only remark which Champigny makes on all this is that if the Indians are coming, it is a proof that they are not restrained.

He is sending, he says, a copy of the letter which he received from the Jesuits, a copy of the minutes of the councils held at Detroit, and his own remarks in the margin.

Cadillac then asks for a fund of 6,000 livres which he will administer "for things I shall judge necessary," and promises to give an account of the administration of this fund to Callières and Beauharnois.[16] He believes that the Company has gained rather than lost, thanks to the manner in which he has attended to their interests. If it should have any complaint, he offers to make good the loss, and remarks that "if the trade of this country had not been given exclusively to the Company, Detroit would now be fortified." He has found a copper mine near Lake Huron, not far from Detroit, and he wants to send twelve men to search for other mines.

"The last time you sent me here from France, you promised me, my Lord, that you would let me return as soon as Detroit was established. It is now on a sound footing." Champigny noted: "He complains that *on* [the Company] does not let him establish Detroit, and he is asking to go to France, now that Detroit is established. This is self-contradictory."[17]

Cadillac does not know whether Pontchartrain has granted jurisdiction over Detroit and over all the other posts of the Northwest, "which I had in the time of M. de Frontenac, and which M. de Callières had granted me by the agreement of September 25, 1702." This called forth the emphatic remark of Champigny that neither Frontenac nor Callières had ever given him such jurisdiction, and he thinks that Cadillac should have no jurisdiction over any other

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16 The mention of Callières in this letter shows that the letter was written at intervals, for by this date Cadillac knew that the governor was dead.—Champigny said that the disposal of the fund should be left to the clerk, otherwise Cadillac would either give no account or give any account he pleased, AC, C 11E, 14: 138v.

17 AC, C 11E, 14: 140.

post than Detroit, "on the supposition that my Lord wishes to keep him there."[18]

Cadillac then speaks of organizing a company of Hurons; he wanted to put them in uniform with captain, lieutenant, ensign, flag, in short, all the frills. This, he says, will have a better effect on the conversion of the Indians than the work of one hundred missionaries. Since the latter began to preach the Gospel, they have made no progress; all their work consists in baptizing some children who die immediately after receiving the sacrament. "I do not believe," notes Champigny, "that the military profession can contribute much to Christianity."[19]

If these memoirs had been presented by people who had the protection of the Jesuits, they would have been found excellent. "But because I have not been inclined to be treated like a slave, as some of my predecessors who have commanded in this country were, all my proposals are made impossible." It was easy for Champigny to set matters straight on this score: "Duluth, La Durantaye, Manthet, Courtemanche, Louvigny, and others are brave men. They commanded in he Ottawa country, they took part in war expeditions, and they never in the least felt inclined to let the Jesuits treat them like slaves. What sieur de Lamothe says here is contrary to fact."[20]

There is a final reference to the Jesuits in this letter on which we shall comment:

> You must be aware that there is not a post in this country—not even in the settlement of sieur Juchereau[21]—where there are Frenchmen and not Jesuits also. Detroit alone is without them, although they have shown themselves eager to take care of the missions. This shows their good will toward me. People in this country are very much concerned about what the Jesuits do, but I am not at all eager to see them come, for I know that the parish here is not as prosperous as elsewhere. Nevertheless, they ought to make their choice and speak their minds, because means would be taken to bring in other missionaries. Can they have so much influence that they not only refuse to come to this mission as the king wishes, but also prevent others from coming?

On the one hand, he complains that there are no Jesuits at Detroit, and on the other, he does not care to see them come. Why should he bother then? As for the Jesuits preventing other missionaries from coming to Detroit, Cadillac was, as usual, imagining

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[18] *Ibid.*, 139v.—Champigny was mistaken; Cadillac had jurisdiction over the Northwest when he was commandant at Michilimackinac.

[19] *Ibid.*, 140v.

[20] *Ibid.*, 141.

[21] He refers to Father Mermet who had gone with Juchereau on the Ohio.

things. How could they have prevented Recollects, for instance, or Priests of the Foreign Missions, from going to Detroit if they had so wished and the Jesuits themselves had been unwilling to do so? Champigny saw this quite well: "It is true that the Jesuits do all they can to avoid going to Detroit. This should not surprise anybody, considering the dispositions of sieur de Lamothe toward them. If he is not at all anxious to see them, as he himself says, why should he force them to go to Detroit?"[22] As we have already said, he simply wanted somebody close at hand with whom to quarrel.

The rest of this letter deals with many things which were not his business at all. He compares himself to Moses, to Caleb, to Pilate, to St. John Chrysostom, and returns again and again to the mistake which had been made in not following his original memoir. Had Pontchartrain ordered the memoir to be carried out to the letter, how different would the situation be today! All the *congés,* he said, are useless, and he insisted that "no other post should be permitted in the Ottawa country, because greed and avarice give rise to endless disorders." Yet, observed Champigny, "this greed makes him ask for the suppression of *congés,* and for the suppression of all the posts in the Ottawa country, so as to remain the sole master. If this should come to pass, the colony would be in a sorry plight."[23]

As we said above, Cadillac also sent a second letter to La Touche, a clerk in the ministry of the colonies. Since all correspondence addressed to the minister would pass through the hands of La Touche, it would have been a waste of time to repeat what he had said to Pontchartrain. He consequently speaks only of the Jesuits.

He begins this letter by saying that it seems very probable that "the Reverend Jesuit Fathers have asked the Court to take care of the missions of this post, and the Court has no doubt had reason to grant them their wishes." By now, we know what to think of this statement about the Jesuits asking for the mission at Detroit. Many of his other assertions are equally unreliable. He goes on to say that last year, he showed to Callières the letters sent to him by the Jesuits, and the governor "did not seem satisfied with their conduct." Callières was dead when this letter was sent to La Touche, so there was no fear of contradiction. His attack on the Society of Jesus, he continues, was "animated by his zeal for the king's service." He had put down in writing the difficulties with the Jesuits of Michili-

[22] AC, C 11E, 14: 142.
[23] *Ibid.*, 141v.

mackinac and since he came to Detroit; all he asked was that the Jesuits should do the same, but "they would never consent to it and thus avoided any decision thereon." The Jesuits, of course, had discovered by this time how foolish it was to argue with Cadillac; they knew that he would never be at a loss to find arguments in his favor and to twist everything so as to appear in the right when he was hopelessly wrong, or again he would bring in altogether irrelevant questions.

The missionaries claim, says Cadillac, that the will of the king must be conformed to the will of God.

> Here is a specimen from a sermon of Father de Carheil [*i.e.,* Pinet] given on March 25, 1697. 'There is,' he said, 'no power divine or human which can sanction the brandy trade,' whence it follows that this Father rides boldly over all reasons of state, and would not even submit to the decision of the Pope.

Actually, the "reasons of state" were all on the Jesuits' side, insofar as the brandy trade was concerned. It had been forbidden by the king, who should know at least as well as Cadillac, what was for the welfare of the country; and Father Pinet was quite right in saying that the Pope himself could not sanction the sale of brandy as Cadillac understood it.

What the Jesuits do not like, he says, is the nearness of the French settlements. This is a false argument which had been used before by Frontenac and by Cadillac himself; now, however, something else is added to it: the Jesuits could thus instil unreasonable fears into the minds of the Indians and force them to return to Michilimackinac. "I will stake my life that this will never happen, and I do not fear their influence in this respect." The sequel will show who instilled unreasonable fears into the minds of the Indians. As for staking his life, he might as well have forfeited it right now; for we know that in a few years time, the Indians returned to Michilimackinac. If the Jesuits do not want to come to Detroit, he asks, "why do they prevent other missionaries from going there?" We have already answered this foolish question, but Cadillac felt that the repetition of this falsehood would do no harm.

He ends his letter by begging La Touche to enlighten him as to how he can gain the friendship of the Jesuits. "As long as it is question of my private interests, it will be easy; but when there is question of the will of the king and they oppose it, telling me that they know it better than I, I want to know what to do in order to remain friendly with them." The will of the king was actually too

clear to be questioned. Cadillac was allowed to go to Detroit as commandant there, without any idea of gathering the Indians around Detroit; in the plan he was to follow, there was absolutely nothing about a Frenchification scheme, a seminary for the Indians, or the formation of companies of natives. At Michilimackinac, the will of the king was that no brandy should be sold, and it was certainly against the will of the king to substitute an ordinance according to which brandy could be sold there by the barrel.

II. Cadillac and the Company

In his letter to Pontchartrain, Cadillac's use of the term "lease" had an obvious implication, as everyone in Canada realized;[24] but in Paris, Pontchartrain was dazzled by Cadillac's rhetoric in spite of the different reports that came from Vaudreuil, from Beauharnois the intendant, from Delino and Riverin, directors of the Company of the Colony.

Vaudreuil, for instance, wrote that "the general opinion is that the post [Detroit] is untenable and burdensome to the [Company of the] Colony, as you will see by the unanimous declaration" of the assembly convoked at Quebec.[25] From the speeches of the Indians in Montreal, the governor did not think that they would move to Detroit.[26] In their joint letter of the following day, Vaudreuil and Beauharnois are more emphatic still. They do not know who can have written to the minister that the Company was making huge profits at Detroit. (This was Cadillac who had sent his balance sheet to the minister.) The Company has lost more than 12,000 livres last year and will lose much more this year.[27] It was a shame, they said, that private interests should prevail over the general interest; but they asked to be dispensed from mentioning any name. Neither Cadillac nor Tonti have attended the general assembly, "for they are at Detroit, from where they write that one-third of the garrison has deserted."[28]

On the same day that Vaudreuil wrote his letter, Delino wrote

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[24] "Il va à ses fins quand il dit qu'il ne travaillera . . . qu'après le bail de la Compagnie," *Ibid.*, 139v. There never was any "bail"; the Company had the right to trade at Detroit as long as it pleased.

[25] The full report, dated November 9, 1703, is in AC, C 11A, 21: 172 ff, an abstract, dated November 4, 1703, *ibid.*, 170 ff.

[26] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1703, NYCD, 9: 744.

[27] Cf. Delino to Pontchartrain, November 15, 1703, AC, C 11A, 21: 208.

[28] Vaudreuil and Beauharnois to Pontchartrain, November 15, 1703, RAPQ, 1939, 13.

to Pontchartrain giving instances of the cost of running the Detroit post. The Company had to pay for the subsistence of Cadillac and Tonti, of their families and their servants, who "number twelve or thirteen persons"; food and personal belongings had to be transported to the place; and there was the useless travel of officers from Detroit to Quebec which had to be paid for. Since the Company cannot accept the idea of giving the post to Cadillac, the only thing to do is to recall the garrison.[29]

At the beginning of 1704, Riverin had submitted a memorandum in which he outlined the state of affairs at Detroit. Cadillac, he says,

> had not reckoned with the minister's granting the monopoly of trade to the Company of the Colony. He had flattered himself that Detroit would always be in the king's hands and that it would be for him the occasion of making a fortune. He is now offering to take charge of the post and to reimburse the Company; but the conditions are such that his own private interest is not forgotten. He has nothing else in view than to get hold of Detroit as well as of the trade in the Ottawa country, and so become master of all.[30]

To the memoir, Riverin added some further reflections. Cadillac, he says, maintained that it was to the king's interest that Detroit be increased and perfected, and claimed that the Company of the Colony was endeavoring to thwart him in this undertaking. He wanted, for instance, to bind the Company to accept whatever pelts he would send to Quebec. He knew that from Detroit he could easily get all kinds of pelts from the Ottawa country, and that either by himself or through others under assumed names he could flood the Quebec market. Hence if Cadillac wants Detroit, he should be allowed to have it only the following conditions: 1) he must reimburse the Company for its advances; 2) the Company should be bound to receive not more than 15,000 livres worth of pelts; 3) an inspector should go to Detroit and make sure that no more canoes than are necessary be sent to the Ottawa country; 4) an inventory should be taken of the arms and merchandise at Detroit. Unless all these conditions are fulfilled, the Company should continue to govern and administer Detroit.[31]

Six weeks after the date of Riverin's memoir, September 3, 1704, Pontchartrain gave Cadillac the proprietorship of Detroit, but the

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[29] Delino to Pontchartrain, November 15, 1703. AC, C 11A, 21: 207–208v.

[30] Estat present des affaires de la Compagnie de la Colonie de Canada, AC, C 11A, 22: 100.

[31] Reflections on the present State of the Settlement of Detroit in Canada, MPHS, 33: 185 ff.

letter which notified him was lost when the *Seine* perished at sea.[32] The news only arrived in the following year. In the meantime, the Company of the Colony sent more men to Detroit,[33] and Cadillac held more councils.

On June 5, 1704, a clerk by the name of Desnoyers arrived at Detroit to investigate on the spot the affairs of the Company. Cadillac, whose conscience was not clear, for he had juggled the books, had to find some means of sending Desnoyers away. He therefore assembled all the Frenchmen who were at Detroit and had the Indians make speeches. The main speaker for the occasion was none other than Quarante Sols. He began by complaining that Mme Tonti had left the year before, and that Mme de Lamothe and her children, as well as Radisson and his wife, were leaving this year.

> We see very well that the governor general is a liar. He has not given us what he promised. Since he lied to us, we will lie to him, too. [And pointing to Desnoyers] What is this man doing here? We neither know nor understand him. All our peltries have been collected for the past two years, and a part has already been taken to Lower Canada. We will not permit anything to leave, unless Frenchmen bring us merchandise.

Cadillac answered that it was quite true that Mme Tonti left last year, but the reason was that she was with child. As for the wives of Cadillac and Radisson, they would stay in Detroit. The governor general is not a liar, he said. At the beginning, Cadillac had merchandise at his disposal, but it had been given by the king, and later "orders came which gave the monopoly to the merchants." The Indians had complained that Desnoyer wanted only beaver pelts; they were wrong, he affirms, for the clerk had not done any trading; and he wants to know who was spreading such rumors around. "But since you are not satisfied with him, [Desnoyers] he himself has resolved to go back" to Montreal. Cadillac and Radisson will also go to Montreal, but Tonti will remain in Detroit.

Since Cadillac was concerned to impress upon Desnoyers the idea that he was not wanted in Detroit, he makes Quarante Sols say that two years ago, the Indians had been told by Callières to go to Detroit where merchandise would be sold cheaply; this is now the third year, and everything has become dearer. Quarante Sols says

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[32] Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, September 3, 1704, RAPQ, 1939, 43. On June 14, 1704, Pontchartrain wrote to Cadillac, MPHS, 33: 187–189, stating the terms on which he might receive the proprietorship of Detroit, noting the many complaints against him and denying his petition that he be made Marquis of Detroit.

[33] Judicial Archives of Montreal, April 25, 1704, Greffe Adhémar, 6758 and 6759.

that he is very glad that Desnoyers is going, for he fears lest some young man might forget himself: "We absolutely want him to go." When the Indians came to Detroit, the governor [Callières] had not said that the merchants would be the masters, hence he lied. "This land does not belong to you but to us; we will leave it and go where ever we please, without anyone stopping us."[34]

As soon as Desnoyers arrived in Quebec in the summer of 1704, the directors of the Company wrote to Pontchartrain, explaining the antecedents of the incident.[35] When Cadillac was in Quebec in 1702, they had tried to win him over to their side, because they knew that, in Detroit, he not only could but would make matters very difficult for them, considering what he had written to Pontchartrain. At that time he was telling everybody that the directors actually made a profit of 60,000 livres. To prevent the spreading of such absurd statements, the directors gave Cadillac and Tonti a fixed salary and they were willing to pay for the subsistence of the families of the two officers. This contract was faithfully kept by the Company, but M. de Lamothe "did all he could to make the Company lose money, in order to force it to relinquish its commerce and obtain it for himself."

Since in his previous letters, Cadillac had cast so many aspersions on the honesty of the clerks and other employees of the Company the directors had decided in the spring, they said, to send two new clerks and Roy *dit* Chastelrault as interpreter. But this did not improve the situation, for Cadillac, in league with the former clerks on whom he had cast suspicions, did all he could to put obstacles in the way. He first had the Indians assemble and prompted them to ask that Desnoyers leave the place, else the young men would break his head; then Cadillac asked the advice of the French who said that Desnoyers must go. This was not all. When he heard that Desnoyers had reprimanded the employees of the Company for leaving the fort without his permission, Cadillac called him in and upraided him; and as the time for departure was at hand, he imprisoned the poor man together with the two other clerks. Tonti did not set them free until three hours after Cadillac's departure.

The reason for this high-handed procedure, said the directors, was to keep Desnoyers from discovering that Cadillac was guilty

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[34] Conseil tenu au fort Pontchartrain . . ., June 8 and 9, 1704, AC, F 3, 2: 301–304v.

[35] Directors of the Company of Canada to Pontchartrain, August 7, 1704, AC, C 11A, 22: 113–115v.—In November, the procedure was further delayed, for, in the meantime, Cadillac had appealed to the king's council in France, AC, C 11A, 22: 123.

of the malversation which he had imputed to the clerks. "He has taken everything that belongs to the Company in Detroit, and had dispossessed the clerks by keeping them in prison." The directors have already lodged a complaint, they said, with the governor and with the intendant. They are hoping that their lawsuit will be sufficiently advanced when the ships leave for France so that judgment may be passed upon it.

When Cadillac left Detroit with Radisson, three hours ahead of Desnoyers, he went to Montreal and Quebec, where he had full time and opportunity to hear from all sides the accusations against his administration. Knowing that the complaints were going to France, he set himself to the task of getting his refutation of the charges in the same mail. The result of his writing probably in a jail cell, is a most astonishing document in some 18,000 words, which he entitled: Memorandum of M. de Lamothe Cadillac concerning the establishment of Detroit, from Quebec, 19th Nov. 1704.[36] Nothing better illustrates the intricate mental maneuvers of which he was capable, his brazenness, and his mendacity. In imagination Cadillac stands before his lord, Pontchartrain, who asks him questions about his stewardship. Cadillac humbly replies. But, the "questions" put by Cadillac in the minister's mouth are frequently amplifications of Cadillac's defense; they are what Cadillac as minister would say to Cadillac of Detroit. For example, Pontchartrain is made to say in his Q. "I see you are right . . ." "I understand what you say . . ." "The King has again considered your scheme, and has ordered me to send you back to Canada . . ." "Go, but do not trouble yourself . . ." "I will take care of you; only act so as to succeed." Perhaps the document should be turned over to psychologists, or dramatists, but it has value as containing many of the accusations which Cadillac had heard against himself and some that he thought might be advanced.

The Memorandum is divided into four chapters. The first chapter, already quoted, justifies Cadillac in all his difficulties with Father Vaillant. In the second chapter Cadillac inveighs against the Company. It begins with Pontchartrain apologizing for establishing the Company:

> Q. I could not dispense with granting the trade of Detroit to the Company of the Colony, which promised me to do everything in its power to make that settlement a success.
>
> A. If you had known its power you would have hoped for nothing

[36] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1704, MPHS, 33: 198–241.

from it; it is the most beggarly and chimerical company that ever existed. I had as lief see Harlequin emperor of the moon. . . .

And so on to a complete vindication of his actions and a glorification of the value and productivity of Detroit. The last answer is a gem:

A. There is no other Minister so wise, so enlightened and so vigilant as you, who can see through the false zeal of the opponents of the settlement of Detroit, and who can distinguish the injustice of my enemies. You shall see the vileness of it from the manner in which I have behaved, and from their dishonesty.

The third chapter takes up about half of the Memorandum. In the second question Pontchartrain-Cadillac asks: "But whence comes then this cause of hatred and animosity which people have against you . . ." The answer is, for a change, not the Jesuits but "Tonti and two clerks of the Company." Cadillac had caught the two clerks trading, though pledged not to trade, and they had signed a deposition of their red-handed guilt. They were Arnauld and Nolan. Cadillac said that he had notified Callières—who was dead at the time—but his letter was handed to Vandreuil. He had also notified Lotbinières, one of the directors, of what had taken place at Detroit. The whole affair was quashed because, according to Cadillac, an officer, Tonti, was involved in it, and Arnauld was the son-in-law of Lotbinières, who in turn was the uncle of Vaudreuil. Cadillac's explanation hinges on the various relationships of the two clerks, and is so involved that one wonders about his sanity.

We are then given an account of the cost of living at Detroit, and of course the directors are blamed for selling at a high price. They do not understand trade at Detroit; they are incurring incredible expenses in order to assist their relatives; and finally, the warehouses of the Company are put to a kind of pillage, and who "knows whether the clerks do not share in the spoils." Lotbinières and Delino are prosecuting Cadillac, and "are laying to my charge atrocious calumnies which they cannot prove." Pontchartrain then "asked" who was the man sent to investigate the matter, and Cadillac answers that he was a certain Vincelot, "whose father is a bastard and his mother illegitimate"; he is also first cousin to M. Pinault, another director of the Company of the Colony.

He also explains after his own fashion the imprisonment of Desnoyers, but he first prepares the ground with a "question." On arriving at Detroit, Desnoyers, Demeule and Chastelrault, the latter two also relatives of Lotbinières and Delino, had accused Radisson of having removed papers which put them at a disadvantage in

their investigation. Cadillac's position was so weak that he began attacking the directors and demanded that they "make reparation for so atrocious a calumny." The reader will note that his promise to give proofs is at once forgotten, and that as soon as the directors accuse Radisson he automatically becomes Cadillac's protégé. The directors, says Cadillac, assert that Radisson influenced the Indians to demand the dismissal of Desnoyers. Why, he inquires, should he himself have asked for this dismissal? Cadillac did not know the man, had never set eyes upon him, although he did provide a meal for him, "which in truth he did not deserve."

He answers Pontchartrain's "question" about Desnoyers' imprisonment by posing another question of his own: Who is this Desnoyers? "A waif and a poor wretch who arrived at Detroit not knowing which way to turn." As for his powers as commandant, they are very wide, "for in case of distinct disobedience, he has the right to run his sword through anyone who offends him." We are quite accustomed to this braggadocio. In Michilimackinac he spoke of "breaking the jaw" of Father de Carheil; in Louisiana he threatened to run his sword through Leblond de la Tour, all this was on paper to be sure.

He then "explains" how Desnoyers was sent to prison. Cadillac questioned Tonti and various soldiers in order to ascertain the facts. Desnoyers, brought before the commandant, was asked whether or not he thought that Cadillac had the power of sending detachments of the Company's employees on the king's service without the leave of Desnoyers. The latter answered that he had made no such claim, but that he did not think that Cadillac had such power. Cadillac thereupon jailed him with the words: "I will teach you, little clerk, to swerve from your duty and to raise sedition by estranging the minds of the men from obedience." This also has a familiar ring. Anyone who opposed this petty tyrant automatically became a traitor. Cadillac also claimed that he urged Desnoyers not to return to Montreal, saying that he himself would take care of the whole matter; but the clerk absolutely refused to listen to reason. "This made me think that Desnoyers had instructions to make the Indians ask for his dismissal."

The next "question" concerns the reason for Desnoyers' second imprisonment. Nobody, answered Cadillac, may leave the post without his permission, but Desnoyers had made all preparations to sail for Montreal without saying anything to anybody, claiming that he was not Cadillac's subordinate. When the latter was ready to depart,

Desnoyers remained closeted with the two other clerks, and having found their canoes, "I sent Desnoyers and the other two clerks to prison." He expatiates on this ruling, "on account of possible malversation and for other reasons." Such, he says, are the acts of violence of which he is accused and because of which the directors opposed his return to Detroit.

Cadillac also had an axe to grind concerning Vaudreuil and Beauharnois. They had permitted the directors to inform against him and had had him arrested by Ramezay who, incidentally, was in league with Cadillac and at once protested against this action in a letter to Paris.[37] They had also, complains Cadillac, done all in their power to save the prevaricating clerks at the expense of his reputation and with the intention of wrecking Detroit by removing him from his command. "To sum it all up, I have appealed in this matter on account of the conspiracy between the governor general, the intendant, the Jesuits [?] and the Directors, who believe that by keeping me prisoner under devilish pretexts, they will succeed in destroying Detroit." It is difficult to imagine what the Jesuits had to do with "this matter," and one cannot help wondering whether Cadillac was not throwing dust in the eyes of Pontchartrain. One thing is certain: neither Colbert, nor Seignelay, nor the elder Pont-

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37 Ramezay to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1704, MPHS, 33: 194 f.
Editor's Note. From this point the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth facts are ample proof of Cadillac's tendency to kick up enough dust to cloud the case against himself. Father Delanglez was revising his manuscript account of the Memorandum before his death, trying to make clear what Cadillac intended to be confusing. The story seems to be this: Cadillac boasted to the Huron Quarante Sols that he and Radisson had given wampum for the dismissal of Desnoyers. Quarante Sols told the Ottawas. The Ottawas told Desnoyers, who saw a fine chance to get evidence against Cadillac. He sent an Ottawa girl to Michilimackinac to give this testimony to the officer there, Mauthet. Getting wind of this, Cadillac got the girl's brother, Leblanc, to testify at Detroit to the opposite, namely, that he and the rest of the Ottawa "knew nothing, except what Quarante Sols had told them" about Cadillac's action against Desnoyer. Quarante Sols denied knowing or saying anything, since he did not understand the French language and Cadillac did not understand his. This made liars of the Ottawa or of Cadillac's interpreter or Quarante Sols. Cadillac's interpreter happened to be a notorious profligate wench, who denied all complicity in this plot.

What all this means to prove is not clear, but it gives Cadillac an opportunity to flay all concerned. "Let them hang him [Quarante Sols] if they like, what do I care?" "The Governor-General has corrupted his people in order to ruin me." Mauthet and other officers have served jail terms as rebels. Louvigny is a perjurer. Tonti, "whom I denounced two years ago for transacting trade and complicity with the clerks," is classed with other adversaries in these proceedings: "a drunken savage; a dissolute woman; a subdelegate Desnoyers whose kindred is full to overflowing with vileness," the convicted clerks, and the directors.

chartrain would have wasted their time reading such drivel, and their next move would have been to order Cadillac to return to France.

The fourth chapter contains nineteen "facts," with Cadillac's comments on each. To Pontchartrain's warning that he is not to distort the truth in any way, he piously answers: "I have no other patron than truth itself, and so great is my confidence in it that I believe I shall be invincible so long as I fight under its standard." After such an introduction, we can be quite sure that he is about to take all kinds of liberties with the truth. There is no point in analyzing each of these nineteen "facts," some of which are irrelevant and the others testify to Cadillac's power of imagination. A few, however, are worth commenting upon.

Last year, he said, Tonti went down to Montreal and to Quebec and found himself accused of malversation. Instead of punishing him, the directors sent him back to Detroit with the understanding that he would "act in an underhand way against me and against the post." The better to succeed, Tonti was given 600 livres, "under the pretext of having his wife come down to Montreal." Cadillac knew quite well that Tonti did not receive this money, least of all for the reason given, since he had told the Indians of Detroit that Mme Tonti returned because she was with child.

The fifth fact is that Father Marest, Tonti and Manthet were gathered together in Quebec, where the ruin of Detroit was concocted with the Superior of the Jesuits, with Vaudreuil, Beauharnois and the directors of the Company of the Colony. According to Cadillac, they planned to re-establish the *congés* and to re-open the Michilimackinac mission. This whole "fact" is a pure Cadillac fiction, since it is perfectly clear from Marest's subsequent conduct that he had no intention of going to Detroit at all.

The sixth fact concerns the brandy trade. Nobody is allowed to bring any brandy to the Indians under any pretext whatsoever, and these ordinances have always been enforced with all possible severity. Now, enormous quantities of liquor are being taken to the villages "without the Jesuits complaining of it. The latter maintain an unbroken silence, after having made so much fuss about it at the time of Frontenac and Callières; that is, when they were not dominant." The truth is that in the following year, in order to put a stop to the brandy trade and to end the licentiousness of the French, the Jesuits of Michilimackinac set the torch to their house and church, and departed for Quebec, presumably maintaining the "unbroken silence" which Cadillac mentions.

The tenth fact is that all the Hurons of Michilimackinac have now moved to Detroit. He had predicted last year that this would happen, "in spite of the statements to the contrary made by the wonderful Father de Carhetil, their missionary." All the Ottawa, except sixty or eighty, have also come to Detroit. This last migration has surprised every Jesuit in the colony; and one can see what to make of the Jesuits' saying that they would follow the Indians when these move to Detroit. We shall soon see how many Ottawa came to Detroit and how they nearly wrecked the place when they got there.

But the sixty or eighty Ottawa who remained at Michilimackinac went down to Fort Frontenac and kidnapped forty Iroquois. They killed one Iroquois and placed a Huron tomahawk near his body. Although Cadillac confesses that he does not know who planned the coup, he has no doubt that the planner must have wanted the re-establishment of Michilimackinac. The logic of this conclusion is typical of Cadillac's thinking.

The thirteenth "fact" is that Desnoyers was formerly a servant of Denonville, who, with Father de Lamberville, a Jesuit, was "so strongly opposed to the establishment of Detroit." This is pure imagination. Neither Denonville nor Lamberville ever gave a thought to Detroit.

The sixteenth fact is that M. Vincelot accepted evidence which the Ottawa gave under oath. "Where," asks Cadillac, "would you find anyone willing to serve as an officer in Canada, if the evidence of the Indians were received in courts of justice?" He seems to forget that he himself had taken the testimony of Indians at Detroit and had sent it to Pontchartrain; but then the testimony was against the Jesuits, against whom any kind of testimony was acceptable. In his own case, he speaks of the "serious consequences of this kind of evidence and the rude shocks which it gives to the king's authority." He ends his letter by saying: "I beg of you, my Lord, to be good enough to grant me leave to go to France next year, in case you should not grant Detroit to me. But if you wish me to form a settlement there, send me a permit to go to France when I think fit."

Vaudreuil's account of this whole case is quite different. According to him, clearly Quarante Sols was coached by Cadillac, who was ultimately the cause of Desnoyers' dismissal. This matter should be settled between Cadillac and the directors of the Company of the Colony.

I am persuaded, my Lord, that sieur de Lamothe will make every effort to give you an idea of Detroit which will be much to his advantage,

but I doubt very much that the picture he will paint for you can be true; for it is not natural that he alone should see what the whole of Canada was never able to understand.

As for the great number of Indians who, he says, are assembled at Detroit, far from being advantageous to the colony, they have relations with the Seneca, and consequently with the English.

Sieur de Lamothe has asked me to let him go to France, but the intendant has requested me to arrest him, because of a lawsuit which he has with the directors of the Company. Sieur de Beauharnois will let you know why I did not allow Cadillac to leave for France without orders from you.[38]

Further details are found in the joint letter of Vaudreuil and Beauharnois. As soon as he learned of the Company's petition to abandon Detroit, Cadillac had the Frenchmen, Radisson, and even the chaplain of the fort sign a paper to the effect that he himself and Radisson would come back again to Detroit and, as a pledge of his return, had left two wampum belts with the Indians. Seeing that there was nothing which Vaudreuil and Beauharnois could do, and fearing, moreover, lest the Indians excited by Lamothe would harm the colony, the directors sent Louvigny to Detroit. The latter, who had commanded the Indians while at Michilimackinac, has now, said Vaudreuil and Beauharnois, more or less patched up matters, and has brought to Montreal a part of the pelts left at Detroit. They added that the Indians told Louvigny that they had kept the pelts at Detroit only because of sieur de Lamothe's advice.

III. Proprietor

As soon as Cadillac arrived at Quebec, the directors had him arrested. Though he flatly refused to acknowledge either Vaudreuil or Beauharnois as his judges, this did not prevent Beauharnois from going ahead with the lawsuit. Cadillac, they said, had refused to acknowledge their jurisdiction only because they were convinced that what he had done at Detroit was against the service of the king and the welfare of the colony.[39]

At the beginning of 1704, Tremblay had received from Cadillac letters and memoirs, which he promptly passed along to Pontchartrain. After these papers had been examined by Champigny, it was

[38] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 16, 1704, RAPQ, 1939, 46.
[39] Vaudreuil and Beauharnois to Pontchartrain, November 17, 1704, RAPQ, 1939, 52 f.

thought better not to take action on them. In a letter to Bishop Laval written in 1705, Tremblay remarks that "this year" there will be some change.

I do not know whether it is wise for you to appear so favorable to his [Cadillac's] plans. He has been very severely criticized on account of the trade which they claimed he carried on with the Indians. You yourself have so often written against him in the past, that we are surprised that you now wish to take his part, though not openly but in secret. He is now quarreling with the powers that be, and this will infallibly involve you in a quarrel with them.

Tremblay also warned the bishop against saying anything in favor of either side, because whatever he says will be reported to Vaudreuil and Beauharnois.[40]

In 1705, the Paris government had decided to replace Beauharnois[41] by Antoine-Denis Raudot.[42] Before the latter left for Canada, the minister communicated Cadillac's petition that his lawsuit with the directors be tried before the royal council, and he asked the new intendant to examine the papers and report to him.[43] Two months earlier, Pontchartrain had sent to Raudot a long memoir of Cadillac's (the "questions and answers" Memorandum already mentioned), wherein appear the reasons why there had been so little progress at Detroit. "This memoir deserves attention, for it clearly explains a part of the intrigues of that colony."[44]

We shall now examine two letters of Pontchartrain to Cadillac, one written in 1704, and the other in 1705.[45] In the notes, we shall give references to the parallel passages in the letters of the king and of Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, to Beauharnois, and to Raudot.

After acknowledging the receipt of Cadillac's "questions and answers" letter of November 14, 1704, as well as the memoirs which have been sent to him, Pontchartrain continues:

I must confess that I have read with real sorrow the account of all the discussions therein related. I cannot approve of your attitude toward MM. de Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois.[46] There are other means of making them

[40] Tremblay to Laval, April 4, 1705. Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), *Lettres*, Carton N, 122, p. 6 f.

[41] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil, June 17, 1705, RAPQ, 1939, 64.

[42] Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, April 15, 1705, *ibid.*, 63.

[43] Pontchartrain to Raudot, April 22, 1704, AC, C 11G, 2: 36.

[44] Pontchartrain to Raudot, March 18, 1705, AC, B 27: 3.

[45] Pontchartrain to Cadillac June 17, 1705, AC, B 27: 83–85.—Only two short paragraphs from this letter are published in MPHS, 33: 190.

[46] In his letter to Beauharnois, Pontchartrain says that he disapproves of Cadillac's conduct, "mais au fond, je ne puis me dispenser de vous dire qu'il a paru dans tout ce que vous avez fait contre lui [Cadillac] un peu trop d'animosité de votre part." Pontchartrain to Beauharnois, June 17, 1705, AC, B 27: 76v.

listen to reason besides refusing to acknowledge them as your judges. One is your commandant and the other is there to administer justice. If such refusal became general, an officer would be guaranteed impunity by refusing to obey.[47]

This, said the minister, would be a disorder which is altogether contrary to the will of the king, who has himself charged Raudot to attend to this lawsuit; and if Cadillac is wise, he will come to an understanding with the directors of the Company.[48]

"With regard to Detroit, His Majesty desires that it should be maintained,[49] and I am writing to M. de Vaudreuil, in behalf of His Majesty, to send you back there."[50] Pontchartrain is convinced that the governor will give Cadillac all the help he needs.

Enclosed you will find the duplicate of the letter which I wrote you last year, and which was lost when the *Seine* perished. Its contents tell you that His Majesty has agreed that you be allowed to take over Detroit, but at your own risk, and according to your proposals and the conditions which you stipulated, for the situation there is still the same. I am therefore referring you to the conditions mentioned in this enclosed letter.

The letter referred to, which is dated June 14, 1704, has been published in French and in English.[51] After speaking of the Company's alleged losses and of Cadillac's offer to take over Detroit at "his own risk and peril," Pontchartrain goes on to say that he is writing to this effect to the directors, but that Cadillac must pay for the merchandise which is there, and must reimburse the Company for any helpful expenditures which it has made. He is to have complete charge of the post, and he may trade there for his own profit. The only restriction is that he cannot send to Quebec for sale more than fifteen to twenty thousand livres' worth of beaver pelts per year. Cadillac's offer to pay ten thousand livres a year to the king is left in abeyance for the time being.

All trade outside of Detroit is forbidden, but Cadillac is free to induce Indians to come there; and as the Company may "unjustly" complain against him, His Majesty is willing that an inspector, to be paid by the king, be posted there. Vaudreuil has been ordered to give Cadillac as many soldiers as he asks for, and to allow all

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47 Cf. Louis XIV to Vaudreuil, June 17, 1705, RAPQ, 1939, 68; Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, June 17, 1705, *ibid.*, 70.

48 Cf. Louis XIV to Raudot, June 17, 1705, AC, B 27: 58v.

49 The king did not desire anything of the kind; it is Pontchartrain who desired that the post of Detroit should be maintained.

50 Cf. Louis XIV to Vaudreuil, June 17, 1705, RAPQ, 1939, 68; Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, June 17, 1705, *ibid.*, 69.

51 Margry, 5: 341–345; MPSH, 33: 187–189.

those who are willing to go to Detroit to do so. As for the Indians, "on whom you have counted to establish Detroit," Vaudreuil and Raudot are to provide the necessary missionaries for them. By these means and with such other help as is just and reasonable, "His Majesty hopes that you will be able to realize the plans which you have formed about this post."

By carrying out the king's orders, "you will have no more difficulties with the Jesuits or with anybody else. If these Fathers, who could help you, are not suitable, you may ask for other priests." But no matter for whom he may ask, the minister insists that divine worship be carried on decently, and that debauchery and bad morals be banished from the post. In leaving Cadillac "the absolute master of everything" in Detroit, he hopes that he will be able to attract the Indians there, and that he will give no occasion of jealousy to the Iroquois nor break with them. "I must admit that the only reason why His Majesty hesitated in granting you Detroit was to make sure of avoiding this calamity, from which the colony would be the first to suffer."[52]

Cadillac may come to France when Detroit is established, but not before the end of the war still being waged in Europe, and in no case may he bring any Indians with him.

I have been advised that Indians from Detroit have sent five canoes to the English. If this is true, it is very likely that this establishment will prove disastrous to the colony; for as soon as the fancy strikes them, they will ally themselves with the English. You cannot take too great precautions to prevent any understanding between the Indians and the enemy. I am recommending you to give your whole attention to this matter and cut at the root any trade between the Indians and the English. This concerns you personally, for the establishment is all yours.[53]

Hardly had this letter of Pontchartrain's reached Quebec when Cadillac sent a request to Vaudreuil and the two Raudots.[54] He asked them to give him 200 soldiers, with boats for transporting them to Detroit in the following spring, and inquired whether they would allow Canadian families to settle at the new post.[55] On the

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[52] Cf. Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and Beauharnois, June 14, 1704, AC, B 25: 121 f.

[53] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, June 17, 1705, AC, B 27: 85.

[54] Jacques Raudot, the father of Antoine-Denis, had arrived in Canada in 1705, at the same time as his son.

[55] Cadillac to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, September 28, 1705, AC, C 11A, 22: 274–274v.

same day, he signed an agreement with two of the directors for the transfer to himself of their property at Detroit.[56]

In this agreement, he made two points clear: first, that he was not bound to pay for merchandise not saleable to the Indians, and second, that he owed nothing for "houses, buildings, warehouses, and cleared lands," and did not hold himself liable for other "useful and necessary expenditures which the Company may have incurred."[57]

During his first two weeks at Quebec, Cadillac showed that he had plenty of time for correspondence. The four letters which he wrote were summarized in Paris for the minister. This summary was annotated by Champigny, and in the margin were added Pontchartrain's directions for the answer to be sent to Cadillac. It would be out of the question to attempt to analyze the summary of Cadillac's letters, since most of what he says is repeated *ad nauseam* in everyone of them. We shall simply give an outline of their contents and check his version with other documents.

Now that he had charge of Detroit, he would not have been Cadillac had he not found fault with everything and with everybody. One of Champigny's annotations is significant: "Can one trust what he says, when he is speaking against everybody?"[58] He insists that the governor general, the two intendants, the Jesuits, and many other individuals are all against him, and yet, "Detroit will soon be the Paris of New France."[59] The post, he adds mournfully, should have been given him in 1703, for there were then fine buildings, much grain, many cattle, and much tilled land. But two months after he had offered to assume full charge at Detroit, "everything was consumed by fire:—the granary, the other buildings and the grain."[60]

In 1704, as soon as he had arrived in Quebec, he says, the directors of the Company brought suit against him and kept him in town. While he was there, Tonti, a tool of the directors, had two

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[56] The agreement is in AC, F 3, 8: 384–386v, published in MPHS, 33: 245–248. Cf. also Proposition du S[r] de Lamotte Cadillac, in AC, F 3, 8: 388–388v.

[57] "Les Sieurs Vaudreuil, Raudot et de Beauharnois ont aussi aplani toutes les difficultez qu'a fait le S[r] Delamotte lorsqu'il s'est agi de conclure le traité qui a été passé entre lui et ceux qui régissent les affaires de la Colonie ce qui ne s'est pas fait sans peine et sans grande contesta'on de la part du S[r] Delamotte." Vaudreuil, Beauharnois and Raudot to Pontchartrain, October 19, 1705, RAPQ, 1939, 83. Cf. A. D. Raudot to Pontchartrain, October 18, 1705, AC, C 11A, 22: 287v.

[58] AC, C 11A, 23: 151.

[59] *Ibid.*, 160.

[60] *Ibid.*, 146.

great forts built, one to the right and the other to the left of Fort Pontchartrain. Tonti also allowed the Indians to till the land, but the land which had been cleared by Cadillac was allowed to become a wilderness.[61] Consequently, whatever money had been spent to improve Detroit is now nullified, and Cadillac does not feel bound to pay for anything. On this Champigny remarks that Cadillac apparently does not want to go to the post, and is making the Company sustain a clear loss of all its expenses: "If, M. de Vaudreuil had not directly ordered him to go to Detroit, he would have complained that he was not allowed to go to his post."

Cadillac's letters are full of insinuations[62] and unproved charges,[63] by which he tries to poison the mind of the minister.[64]

> Everybody is talking about going to Detroit. This disturbs MM. de Saint-Sulpice, who fear that the new colony may depopulate their island [Montreal]. They have been saying all along that land at Detroit is worthless, and now everyone wishes to go there. He will not take with him more than one hundred families.[65]

Champigny noted: "It is for my Lord to decide whether he wishes to estabish Detroit at the cost of ruining the whole colony; that is, if what Cadillac says is true."

He also claims that all the canoes have been secretly bought up by his opponents, so that he will not be able to leave next spring. Champigny said: "He wishes to insinuate that everybody is against him, so that if he does not succeed, he can say that it was not his fault." As for the promised two hundred soldiers, he "fears that only the old, the crippled and the scum of the troops will be given him."[66]

Cadillac's letter of October 20, 1705, is so full of complaints about his soldiers, his "dépenses utiles," and the opposition of Vaudreuil, Beauharnois, and Raudot, that he almost forgets to mention the Jesuits. In one passage, however, he finds occasion to narrate what had taken place at Michilimackinac.

> Fathers Marest and de Carheil, the missionaries at Michilimackinac, have come down to Quebec after burning their house and church there. They said, and also wrote to Paris, that bad government forced them to take such a resolution.

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61 *Ibid.*, 146v.
62 *Ibid.*, 162.
63 *Ibid.*, 156. "Ridicule a dire, devroit prouver s'il vouloit avancer." Pontchartrain's marginal note.
64 *Ibid.*, 153v.
65 *Ibid.*, 158.
66 *Ibid.*, 151.

This event has been widely commented upon, and it is feared that the Court will be irritated by it. He [Cadillac] is persuaded that this post will eventually be re-established more solidly than before, no matter how much it may cost the king, and that these missionaries will be sent back. If, however, Michilimackinac is not re-established, another mission will be opened elsewhere, in order that convoys may be sent to this new place and the mission of Detroit destroyed.

He [Cadillac] tells how the Jesuits have refused to go to Detroit this year [1705] to take care of the mission there. He has never refused to receive them. On the contrary, he has always been most eager to have them. He complains of the obstacles which they placed in his way when Detroit was being established, and of their bad faith in not keeping their word and in trampling under foot the agreement made through M. de Callières, their superior at Quebec, and himself. There are only a few Ottawa at Michilimackinac and no Hurons; the latter are now all in Detroit.[67]

In the margin, Champigny commented on the first two paragraphs as follows: "An answer has been given in the joint letter"; namely, the letter sent by Vaudreuil, Beauharnois and Raudot to the minister. On Cadillac's remark that the king should pay for the re-establishment of Michilimackinac, Pontchartrain notes: "Forbid this [re-establishment] absolutely"; and on the establishment of the mission elsewhere: "Prevent this absolutely." With regard to the third paragraph, Champigny wrote: "He [Cadillac] is too much the enemy of the Jesuits for any one of them to wish to go to Detroit. He would think that they are working against his project, and anything untoward would be imputed to them."

We must now ascertain why the Jesuits set their house and chapel on fire. D'Auteuil piously said that this action had been permitted by God; he added that it would be a good thing if the Jesuits did not go back there, and if all the Indians went to Detroit.[68] By writing in this vein, he thought he would win favor with Pontchartrain.

After the general amnesty which had been granted to the coureurs de bois in 1702, the officials of Quebec, writing to the minister, said that the action of the Jesuits had been forced upon them by three or four coureurs de bois who had remained in the Northwest: "M. de Vaudreuil is persuaded that these men would have availed themselves of the amnesty," and that the missionaries need not have resorted to such an extreme measure. Of the two Jesuit mission-

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[67] *Ibid.*, 152–152v.

[68] D'Auteuil to Pontchartrain, October 17, 1705, RAPQ, 1923, 21.

aries, one [Marest][69] will return to Michilimackinac next spring, for the Indians have asked Vaudreuil for him.[70]

It is difficult to believe that the Jesuits would have taken such a drastic step, if there were only three or four coureurs de bois in the Northwest.

The true explanation is given in a memoir which Father de Lamberville wrote to Pontchartrain in 1706.

It appears from this memoir[71] that their main purpose was to put a stop to the debauchery of the Frenchmen who trade in those parts. The intention of His Majesty is that sieurs de Vaudreuil and the Raudots must put an end to these disorders and take measures by making a few examples which will show these men the horror which His Majesty feels for such conduct.[72]

Before Cadillac left for Detroit, there were several difficulties which had to be ironed out. The first of these difficulties was the voyage which he wanted to make to France. If Vaudreuil had not feared to disobey the minister's orders to send Cadillac to Detroit, he would have permitted this voyage.[73] Cadillac is therefore asking for permission to go to France next year, 1706, when he will find some "expedient" to satisfy the Company of the Colony.[74] This "expedient" consisted in finding some means or other of not paying 260,000 livres which he still owed the Company.

The second difficulty concerned the two hundred soldiers who were to be sent to Detroit. As soon as the orders came from Paris, Vaudreuil had protested against such a demand. He did not believe, he said, that Pontchartrain wanted to strip the colony of its best troops, and it seemed advisable that sieur de Lamothe should take one hundred soldiers and one hundred civilians.[75] In a letter which

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69 Thereafter, Carheil remained in Quebec.

70 Vaudreuil, Beauharnois and Raudot to Pontchartrain, October 19, 1708, RAPQ, 1939, 79 f.

71 Pontchartrain had written to Lamberville on June 2, 1706, asking for information, AC, B 27: 252; and he sent Lamberville's reply to Vaudreuil and the Raudots on June 16, 1706, AM, B 2, 189: 950v.

72 Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, June 9, 1706, AC, B 27: 218.

73 Vaudreuil, Beauharnois and Raudot to Pontchartrain, October 19, 1705, RAPQ, 1939, 89.

74 Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 9, 1705. AC, F 3, 8: 388v. The king wrote to Vaudreuil and Raudot, April 9, 1706: "Il n'est pas necessaire qu'il passe en France," RAPQ, 1939, 128.

75 Vaudreuil, Beauharnois and Raudot to Pontchartrain, October 19, 1705, RAPQ, 1939, 82. Cf. Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, October 19, 1705, *ibid.*, 92 f. In this last letter, Vaudreuil, speaking of soldiers having deserted, says: "Ce ne sont pas ordinairement les plus mauvais soldats qui desertent." *Ibid.*, 99.

Cadillac presented to Vaudreuil at the beginning of the following year,[76] he asked that the choice of soldiers be left to him, so that he might take those who are favorably disposed.[77] But Vaudreuil answered that he would take the responsibility of sending one hundred and fifty soldiers. Cadillac, however, after a sad experience at Three Rivers, wrote again to Vaudreuil: "It is necessary for me to know whether you will leave me the choice of the soldiers whether they are favorably inclined or otherwise."[78] But the governor stood firm and wrote to the minister that he could not send more than one hundred and fifty.[79] At this point the king himself insisted that Cadillac should take two hundred soldiers and "one hundred inhabitants," and gave instructions as to how they should be chosen.[80] When this letter arrived at Quebec, Cadillac had already left for Detroit with one hundred and fifty soldiers, and he later refused to accept the other fifty, since he would have to pay for their transportation.[81]

The third difficulty was the sending of priests to Detroit. In 1705, Cadillac wrote as follows:

> He asked M. de Laval, former Bishop of Quebec, as well as the priests of the Séminaire, whether they wanted to take care of the inhabitants of Detroit. They promised to send two priests as soon as they got word from France. This was merely an excuse, for they knew that this establishment [Detroit] would be strongly opposed.[82]

The warning of Tremblay to Laval in 1705, had been heeded; and in 1707, Tremblay also warned the priests of the Séminaire to say nothing in favor of either party. Both parties, he says, are simply trying to keep as secret as possible the fact that they are making money.

> It seems to me that the minister [Pontchartrain] is only too glad to support M. de Lamothe, if for no other reason than to have him spy on the others. I never believed that he [Cadillac] had enough religion to give up the brandy trade on conscientious principles.[83]

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[76] In order to protect himself, Vaudreuil had asked that Cadillac put all his petitions in writing. Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, October 10, 1706, RAPQ, 1939, 137.

[77] Cadillac to Vaudreuil, January 27, 1706, MPHS, 33: 299.

[78] *Id.* to *id.*, March 18, 1706, *ibid.*, 250 ff.

[79] Vaudreuil and Raudot to Pontchartrain, April 20, 1706, RAPQ, 1939, 114.

[80] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and Raudot, June 9, 1706, *ibid.*, 123.

[81] Louis XIV to *iid*, June 6, 1708, AC, B 29: 326.

[82] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1705. AC, C 11A, 23: 153v.

[83] Tremblay to Messieurs du Séminaire, June 18, 1707, Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), *Lettres*, Carton M, no. 38, p. 42.

Knowing that the minister would not permit Detroit to be without priests, Cadillac promised that he would have a Recollect come with the convoy in the following spring [1706]. Pontchartrain wrote in the margin: "All right, if nothing better can be arranged."[84] Cadillac asked for "an additional sum of 1,000 livres for two priests, until such time as the parish can support them." As the time to leave for Detroit drew near, he asked for ornaments for the church to be paid for by the king, and urged the intendant to pay for the Recollect who was already at the fort as well as for a second Recollect who would serve as missionary. The minister approved the sending of another Recollect, but added, "it seems to His Majesty that it is your business to provide for their subsistence."[85] As it turned out, Cadillac did not have to meet this responsibility. On April 30, Vaudreuil and the two Raudots sent a joint letter to Pontchartrain in which they said in part:

> With regard to the missionary whom we gave to sieur de Lamothe, we have the honor of telling you, my Lord, that we suggested that he should take along Father de Carheil, the missionary of the Hurons who are now at Detroit. We thought that this missionary would suit him well, for he had been at Michilimackinac with these Indians and could have kept them at Detroit. Another advantage was that, since the Jesuit Fathers are being paid by the king, the missionary would have cost nothing. He [Cadillac] refused, saying that if he took a Jesuit for the Hurons, he must have another for the Ottawa; and moreover, that Father de Carheil was his enemy. We told him that, since all the Ottawa understood the Huron language, the Father could take care of both tribes, and that the Jesuits could not give two missionaries, for they lack men. But we were finally forced to give him a Recollect, and since the latter could not go without being paid, we gave him 515 livres and all his equipment, which meant an additional expense for the king of more than one hundred *écus*.[86]

The third difficulty concerned the one hundred families which Cadillac proposed to take to Detroit. He must have realized that his former demands had been preposterous, for he now declares that he will be satisfied with fifty.[87] In another letter to Vaudreuil, he asks that the soldiers who are to go to Detroit be allowed to marry before their departure, "seeing that there are no women in Detroit."[88] Since Vaudreuil had the power to grant this permission, he made no difficulties. In the following May, Laforest wrote

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[84] Cf. the extract from D'Aigremont's memoir, AC, C 11A, 29: 31.
[85] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, June 9, 1706, AC, B 27: 268.
[86] Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, April 30, 1706, RAPQ, 1939; 116.
[87] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1705, AC, C 11A, 23: 160v.
[88] Cadillac to Vaudreuil, April 7, 1706, MPHS, 33: 255.

to Pontchartrain that "several families" were going with the convoy.[89] If the list published in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* can be trusted, the actual convoy included exactly five families,[90] and only three soldiers took advantage of the permission granted by Vaudreuil.[91]

Cadillac wrote from Montreal that he was ready to proceed to Detroit on May 20, 1706, but a month later he had not yet left the town. Vaudreuil, who was tired of his antics, then ordered him to leave at once with his detachment "composed of eight officers, including Cadillac and Laforest, six sergeants, 144 soldiers and [blank] *habitants,* the men and women whose names Cadillac had reported." Vaudreuil then repeats the instructions which he had received from Paris in the preceding year, and ends by saying that he is persuaded that Cadillac will "show every consideration to the missionaries who are at the post." Cadillac left for Detroit on the same day.[92] Vaudreuil wrote:

> Sieur de Lamothe omitted nothing to delay his departure. He could have left on May 20, and did not leave until June 20. I will not tell you, my Lord, what reasons he may have had for the delay, but it is certain that if he and sieur de Laforest had left a month earlier, they would have spared us the difficulties in which we find ourselves today.[93]

The difficulties mentioned by Vaudreuil arose out of a brawl between the Ottawa and the Miami in which two Frenchmen, Father De l'Halle and a soldier named La Rivière, were killed.

(To be continued)

JEAN DELANGLEZ

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[89] Laforest to Pontchartrain, May 20, 1706, AC, C 11A, 23: 258v.
[90] MPHS, 33: 217 f.
[91] The men who went to Detroit in 1706 were: Ignace Vien and Dominique Dubor, who signed the contract on June 12; Pierre Bourdon, Laurent Leveillé, Jacques Moriceau, Jean Brugnon *dit* Lapierre, Pierre Colet, Louis Moriceau, Claude Martin, Pierre Robert, Paul, Jean and Robert Chevalier, all signing on June 15; on June 16, Maximilien Demers, Louis Renaud *dit* Duval; on June 21, Denis Baron, René Besnard, and Louis Gastineau.—Among the soldiers, some deserted (Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, October 10, 1706, RAPQ, 1939, 138); one of the soldiers who had come back from Detroit wanted to become a Recollect; another had a fight in Montreal and was put in jail. The wife of Chanteloup (MPHS, 33: 269) had disappeared and could not be found. Cf. Vaudreuil to Cadillac, July 3, 1706, AC, F 3, 9: 11v–13.
[92] Vaudreuil to Cadillac, June 20, 1706, AC, F 3, 9: 7–7v.
[93] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, October 30, 1706, RAPQ, 1939, 137.

The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray among the Pawnees: 1835

The impact of the American savage upon the literature of early nineteenth century England can be clearly seen in the writings of the Romantics. Wordsworth confessed that the only modern books he read were those of travel and soaked himself in Bartram, Hearne and Carver. Coleridge drank deep from the same sources, as also did Lamb, Southey, Hazlitt and Byron. The refraction of the original did not in any way destroy its attractiveness, and as the boom-town atmosphere of the English Industrial Revolution settled down into the comfortable rigidities of a society which ruled the world, the spectacle of uncivilised man once more offered a strange fascination to those whose eyes turned westward.

This fascination was heightened by the writings of James Fenimore Cooper who weaved high romance from the crude life of the frontier. Thackeray put him above Scott, and certainly the dominant personality of Leather Stocking stamped itself upon the imaginations of thousands. Especially in *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and *The Prairie* (1827) did he make a mark, and when he followed these up with a visit to Europe, he achieved a reputation that could vie with that of his illustrious contemporary. In his European years, he met at the table of Samuel Rogers, himself a literary man, a certain young Oxford scholar. This young man, the Honorable Charles Augustus Murray, illustrates just how potent Cooper's influence could be in a foreign country, an influence which his biographers have so far neglected to seize upon.

Charles Augustus Murray (1806–1895) was an English gentleman (old style). Adventure was in his bones, and his education, formal as it was, seemed to bring it out. Grandson of the last colonial governor of Virginia, Earl of Murray, he entered Eton in the year in which Waterloo was fought. That the victor of Waterloo should subsequently say (in fun) that the battle had been won on the playing fields of Eton was but a retrospective acknowledgment of the toughness needed to keep ahead at the school. Going up to the University of Oxford, Charles Murray soon gave further evidence of his daring by breaking bounds and riding to his club in London, when he had been confined to college for some minor indiscretion.

He was a sport in the old sense of the word. Before he was twenty-six, he was the amateur tennis champion of the country. He rode, he was hardy, and he did not lose all favour with the academic authorities. On the contrary, he was elected to an All Soul's Fellowship, an academic honor prized highly both then and now, and held his fellowship for over twenty years. As his biographer, the Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, acknowledged in 1898, there was no pinnacle of public life which he might not have scaled, had he concentrated all his gifts to one purpose. But Charles Murray was too accomplished for that. Adventure caught up all else, and the courts, whether academic, legal, or tennis, could not hold him. He met Fenimore Cooper at the table of the family mentor, Samuel Rogers, and made up his mind that he must see America.

An occasion soon presented itself. The Virginia property of the family, (which came down through the third Earl of Murray, the last Governor of Virginia) needed someone to survey it, since the fifth Earl, Murray's father, held it by virtue of deeds then reposing in the capitol at Washington. So, on April 18, 1834, he left Liverpool in the *Waverley.*

His voyage, undertaken before the days of steam navigation, was a fitting prelude to a great adventure. Eight days out, the winds became adverse, and the ship sprang a leak. In spite of the pumps being fully manned, and twenty-eight year old Charles Murray took turn about with the rest, the water gained upon them. The ship was lightened of its cargo, chiefly pig iron and crockery, and the helm was re-set for the Azores. For a week they ran before the winds, eventually meeting a homebound East Indiaman which took off the more frightened passengers. Murray remained, together with the 150 Irish emigrants who crowded the steerage. So badly was the ship knocked about, that when it reached the Azores, repairs lasted a month. Nor were matters any better when they set sail from Fayal once more, for this time, the *Waverley* was becalmed for six weeks. Rations ran out, and when Murray reached Staten Island on July 26, nobody was more surprised to see him than Sir Charles Vaughan, the British Ambassador, as it was believed that the *Waverley* had foundered.

Once in America, he started to sightsee. His first trip up the Hudson was livened by the company of Fenimore Cooper himself, who pointed out the spots made famous by Andre and Arnold. Later, he went to Geneseo, where he met James Wadsworth, then

sixty-six, who was to figure so prominently in his future. His apostrophes upon Wadsworth's self-created estate are themselves interesting in view of Wadsworth's own visit to Europe thirty six years previously to attract European capital to America.

By easy stages, he made his way South to Virginia. The family lands lay round Romney, a village on the northern neck of Virginia. In the mountainous country, his survey lasted for a week. He recorded:

> we breakfasted before daylight, and did not cease our investigation till nightfall, when we betook ourselves to the nearest house or cabin for food and rest. We were in every instance kindly and hospitably received, and though our hosts were in many instances very poor, we generally got a good supper of Indian-corn cakes, buck wheat, and wheat bread, coffee, milk, and broiled pork or venison, and slept comfortably . . .

His task over, he was soon back in Washington, where he spent the winter of the year. His comparisons of the Congressional leaders with those of his own country are not as interesting as his comparisons of them to each other. Webster, he thought, would probably be "less successful in directing the impulse and exiting the passions of a popular assembly." When Congress broke up on March 4, 1835, he felt it was time for him to revisit the West. After touring Richmond, Jamestown and Norfolk, he set out in May for Baltimore. He had a melancholy symbol confronting him at Jamestown, where he found the church in ruins, and a more personal cause for reflection on the road to Williamsburg, when he saw his grandfather's residence "little better than a deserted village." The centre of the house had fallen down, and the wings had become cottages.

But he was not the person to lose himself in regrets. The West beckoned, and, as he travelled, he noted the marks left by other hopeful projectors. He did not visit Rapp's settlement at Economy, but he has left us a description of Mrs. Trollope's bazaar at Cincinnati: "a large nondescript edifice of brick, with a stone, or imitation stone, face: it has pillars, a cupola, gothic windows surmounted by Grecian architraves, and scraps of every order (or disorder), from a square brick *box* to an Ionic volute!" Perhaps his spleen was aroused by an attack of cholera which he sustained here at Cincinnati. He was so ill that he made his will and forwarded it to the British Embassy at Washington. Recovered, he went on to stay with Henry Clay at Lexington. He met Harriet Martineau, certainly not a person with whom he agreed, yet found pleasure in her quick observation and comparison. Much more congenial was

a young German called Vernunft, whom Murray discovered was bound for St. Louis too. Their mutual liking for each other was strengthened by stirrup cups of punch, and Murray's high adventure began.

At St. Louis, Murray wanted to have more talk with General Clarke, whose journeys to the Rocky Mountains had made him a national figure. His adventures with buffalo, bear, and Indian seemed to Murray to yet further authenticate the stories of Fenimore Cooper. His plans were frustrated by the early sailing of a steamer bound for the Upper Missouri, which both he and Vernunft hastened to catch. In the interval, they had gathered together some necessaries which they would need to tour the prairie: saddles, blankets and presents chiefly. He noted: "taking with me as little luggage as possible in saddle bags, I set forth on a tour of which it was impossible for me to fix the locality or extent; but having for its object the manners and habits of the extreme West, and of the tribes beyond the American settlements."

After nine days on the river, they reached Liberty, the last western village in the United States. Here they stayed two or three days to make their last preparations. Five ponies and a mule were purchased: one each for Murray, Vernunft and Murray's valet, and the other three for packing the lead, shot, coffee, vermilion, salt, rings, beads, wampum, sugar, knives, bacon, and kitchen utensils. The whole outfit cost him 300 dollars, then equivalent to some £60, and on July 2, the three set out on horseback to Fort Leavenworth, which they reached by nightfall. There they took on a fourth member of the party, a young lad called Hardy.

At Fort Leavenworth, most of the officers were not to be found. They were themselves exploring towards the Rocky Mountains with Colonel Dodge. This expedition was one that Murray had been particularly anxious to join, but since it was impossible he and Vernunft decided to accompany a tribe of Pawnees who were returning to their "nation." Dogherty, the Indian agent, was agreeable. "This gentleman" wrote Murray "entered most obligingly into my scheme; he held a talk with the leaders of the party; told them I was "a great chief among white men; that I was a son or relative of their grandfather; and that, if they killed me or did me any injury, I should be revenged." So, after a further three days preparation, during which time a fifth member was added to the party as an interpreter, Murray and Vernunft set out with the Pawnees on July 7, 1835.

The four chiefs who led the party of a hundred and fifty Pawnees were, to use Murray's own phonetical connotation: Sanitsarish, Patalacharo, and Toolalachashu of the Grand Pawnees, and Leprecolohoolacharo of the Tapage Pawnees. The first of these was Murray's host, and Murray grew very fond of him. Describing him later he wrote: "the old chief himself is one of the finest-looking men of his tribe, but his wives were extremely plain, and very slovenly in appearance." When the party of a hundred and fifty joined the main body, Murray remained with Sanitsarsish, while Vernunft went to stay with Peteresha, one of the chiefs of the Grand Pawnees, and the eldest son of the great chief.

For a fortnight they rode hard in a west by northwest direction, covering from twenty-five to fifty miles a day. On the fourth day they lost two horses, and their baggage was tumbled in a river. On the seventh, they lost the handle of the frying pan, and had to pick their bacon out with their fingers. On the same day they crossed the Great Nimahaw River. Marching in the great heat along the banks of the Blue River, they altered course on July 18, to west by southwest and came to the Northern or Republican fork of the Kansas, following its banks west to find the trail of the roving Pawnee nation. The need was pressing; they had run out of maize already, and were eating roots, while Murray suspected that his dog had long since found its way to the pot.

By July 20, the Indian mode of travel had irked the two attendants, who, rising at four in the morning, eating nothing till one, when breakfast and dinner were eaten at once, and then walking till nightfall, could not be blamed for wishing to return to Fort Leavenworth. Murray "heard sundry complaints, but was conveniently deaf and obstinate." However, from recent marks left in the several encampments, they knew that the Pawnee nation could not be far ahead. After a runner had been sent on ahead, the main body of the nation were soon contacted and asked to linger until Murray and the party could catch up.

The meeting with the main body was on a wide prairie. Handshakes, the pipe of hospitality, and formal introduction by the interpreter, served as a signal for Murray to give them a weak glass of brandy and water all round. In this weak toast (for he made it so that the spirit could "scarcely be tasted") the friendship was sealed, and the chiefs led Murray to the main camp, where no less than five thousand were lying. Men sprawled under their buffalo skin lodges smoking their pipes, while the womenfolk stooped over the

fire busily preparing meat and maize for them. The children, armed with a slight bow and arrow, watched the herds of horses which stretched "as far as the eye could see." As Murray approached the camp with his party, they all crowded to see him. The only members who expressed aversion were the infants who cried and screamed, an aversion soon echoed by the dogs and horses.

Murray was much interested in the lodge. The bases of the walls were composed of the general baggage of the household. Pitched round the exterior of these bales were eight to ten curved willow rods, two or three feet apart, all bound by leather thongs to four large upright poles that formed the front of the lodge. Along these poles ran transverse willow rods, to which the ends of the curved ones were fastened. This provided the skeleton. Upon this skeleton were buffalo hides, stitched together. A similar covering and reed mats were spread over the floor. In the lodge, everyone has his or her assigned place, sleeping upon his or her own robe with saddle and bridle behind his back. Murray, as the scion of a noble family, was amused to see that armorial bearings were recognized even here, for before the tent was usually erected a kind of shield upon three poles. But the greatest symbol of all was in the centre of the tent itself. There, hung the medicine bag, containing arrow heads with which their ancestors had killed a foe, scalps, and other relics.

Murray was also much impressed by the integration of the Pawnee economy around the central figure of the buffalo. Its flesh was their principal, and often their only food. Its skin not only covered the walls and floors of lodges, but covered their bales, their beds, their horses, and their debts to the white men. From it, they made lariats and halters for their horses. Its sinews served to string their bows, as well as to provide twine or thread. The bones served as scrapers and chisels, or as needles; the ribs composing bows; and the hoof, at the end of the shank bone, providing a mallet. As if all this were not enough, the resourceful Pawnees found in the brains of the buffalo the best softener and dresser of the skins. When the prairies were barren, and the droughts caused shortage of water, the buffalo was always a source of fuel, and its bladder always provided a good water carrier. "Where the buffalo is exterminated," Murray wrote, "the Indian of the prairie must perish."

Naturally enough, to hunt the buffalo was the major pre-occupa-

tion of the Pawnees, and in this Murray was soon to participate. Only two days after he and his party had caught up with the nation, the cry "Taraha! Taraha!" was raised. Buffalo had been sighted fifteen miles off, and immediately a thousand braves were mounted in pursuit. Murray's horse was too winded for him to keep up with them, so he went back to watch the skinning process of those which had been killed. Fifteen minutes all told sufficed for the animal to be disposed of; some of the Indians even eating the marrow and the liver raw upon the spot.

On the evening of that same day, the camp was alarmed by the Arikarees. In spite of a great uproar of sound sustained by the Pawnees, the marauders made off with twenty six horses, including two of Murray's. Nor was this the only attack made upon them by neighboring tribes, for a day or two later some 200 Cheyennes attacked them, only to be beaten off. Indeed, Murray learned rapidly that the nobility of the savage was only a myth. "I never met with liars so determined, universal, or audacious," he commented; "the chiefs themselves told me repeatedly the most deliberate and gross untruths to serve a trifling purpose with the gravity of a chief-justice; and I doubt whether Baron Munchausen himself would be more than a match for the great chief of the Pawnees." From these charges, however, Murray completely exonerated his host Sanitsarish: "Nature had made him a gentleman, and he remained so, in spite of the corrupting examples around him."

At the parties he attended, Murray suffered acutely from the roving fingers of his enthusiastic hosts. As the Pawnees and himself sat cross-legged round a bowl of Indian corn or buffalo meat, each plying their own horn spoon in the endeavor to feed themselves, the giver of the feast would finger his blue shirt, examine his knife, try on his hat, explore his pockets, asking questions all the while. Murray suffered for a short time only, namely till the fleas and lice of the Pawnees began to inhabit his own apparel. Then he told them such activities must cease. They did.

If the Pawnees scrutinised Murray, he repaid the compliment by leaving a full account of their marriage customs, their sartorial habits, and philosophy. Marriage he quickly dismissed, since he confessed "I never saw one instance of beauty, either in face or figure—of neatness in dress—cleanliness in appearance, or of any one of those graceful and attractive attributes which generally characterize the softer sex." He found that polygamy among the Pawnees was based on the desire to have a large number of servants,

because service was the main function of the wives. Yet the Peer among the Pawnees was forced to confess:

> the women appear contented and even happy; they laugh under their burdens, and chatter half the night. They even seem to be proof against the pains of the primal punishment brought, by sin, upon womankind; for they pursue their ordinary occupations until the latest period of their labour, and immediately after the birth of the child resume them without interruption.

Sanitsarish's son furnished him with an object lesson in Pawnee dandyism. From the crown of his tufted, pigtailed head, to the scarlet cloth leggings which bound his knees, he was a very model of elegance. Their idea of a divinity was that of a single spirit, generally benevolent, according to the supplies he received of buffalo meat. Supporting this supreme spirit, they also believed in others of a secondary cast, in whom they saw a likeness to buffaloes, bears, or deer. Each person considered himself under the protection of one of these tutelary spirits, and, when excited, would imitate the appropriate actions, such as creeping and growling like a bear, or roaring and stamping like a buffalo. The Great Spirit was always accorded the first spoonful of maize or morsel of meat at a feast and the first puff of smoke.

Before the great buffalo hunt began, auguries were taken by the medicine men. Since they found them inauspicious, the 28th was spent in selecting the guards for the management of the hunt. Because a quarrell existed between the Grand and Republican River Pawnees as to who should be entrusted with this task, the whole of the day was lost in wrangling. Nor was this rectified till two days later, when the encampment broke up and began travelling southward. From this time on they followed a southeasterly march in order to be near the sources of the Saline River and other streams falling into the Kansas. In the march, Murray noticed that a small band of Otoes accompanying the nation, led by their chief Iotan, whose nose had been bitten off by an angry brother. "Alas" recorded Murray "he has been corrupted by the poison of the whiskey bottle."

There were many days of what Murray called "improvident inactivity," during which he would attend feasts, and study the habits of his wild hosts. He commented:

> the folly of the Indians in wasting so much valuable time was to me almost incomprehensible, when it is considered that their whole winter supply of provisions depends upon the summer hunt. They would be obliged to return to their village in three or four weeks, or they would lose their crop of maize.

Murray himself was becoming as dissatisfied as his companions, the more so since he had lost four of his original stock of horses. One night, while he and Vernunft were taking a walk they were stalked by a brave armed with bow and arrows. Fortunately their own presence of mind made them accost him immediately, and return with him to the camp so as to prevent him from doing any damage. Murray himself was unconsciously becoming savage-like in his suspicions—and even in his eating habits, for he actually began to eat raw meat.

Two miles from his camp on August 3, he noted "one of the most extraordinary objects of curiosity" that he had seen in the western prairies. Rising from the centre of the plain was a precipitous range of a "soft crumbling argillaceous substance" in which lime and shells predominated. He decided to carry home some of these mineral specimens for examination, thinking that they might contain iron. His Indian friends told him that the crumbling cliff receded as much as four or five feet in as many years, leaving behind columns of unweathered rocks, which were regarded as porticoes for the temple of the Great Spirit.

On August 5, it was announced that the Great Spirit was propitiated, so the grand hunt was on. Murray said "this was the most magnificent preparation for hunting I had yet seen." Marching in three parallel lines, in strict order, under the chief of the Grand Pawnees (who had supplanted Sanitsarish), they reminded Murray of a regular army. The chief himself, mounted on a cream colored horse, was seated in a Mexican peak-saddle and wore Spanish gilt spurs. A heavy and highly ornamented Spanish bridle adorned with gilt stars, chains, and buckles, seemed to Murray to have come to the chief with the Spanish spurs, probably stemming from some caballero of the seventeenth century. The chief's immediate entourage, who had been to Fort Leavenworth, wore round hats—with the brown paper and string in which they had been wrapped still round them!

Advancing in this fashion for many miles, receiving the reports of scouts, the column kept formation. Suddenly, orders were given all along the lines to advance at a gallop, still keeping ranks. This gallop continued for about an hour. To rest their horses, many of the Pawnees would vault off the saddle and run beside the horse. Eventually they reached the side of a hill. Before them was a valley and beyond that another hill, intersected by many valleys. Down these intersecting valleys into the main valley came black torrents

of buffalo, headed that way by a hitherto unseen body of Pawnees. The combined effect of Pawnees behind and in front of them broke up the buffalo herds. Murray found himself shooting a large bull, which he only wounded. The bull then chased him, and only Murray's horse enabled him to escape. Riding along after his escapade, he met the noseless Iotan, who, not so lucky, had lost his horse and had been grazed himself. When Murray had shot his second bull, two young Pawnees of the Republican band rode up, and after some enticement, began to cut it up. They abandoned their task to try and wheedle more presents out of him. Murray refused, and sent them back to their tribe. So Murray had to cut up the animal himself. He had no sooner done this and packed it on the horse by means of thongs cut from its hide, when the horse itself bucked, knocked Murray down, scattered the meat over the prairie, and cantered after the Indians. From this predicament, Murray was delivered by yet another Indian, who rode up and obligingly chased the runaway, returning half and hour later. So Murray, caked in blood from his essays in butchery, returned to the camp, and delivered his hundredweight of meat at Sanitsarish's lodge for the squaws to pack.

On August 6 the camp moved southward. They could now see, at a great distance, the verdant fringe of timber which marked the upper Arkansas. Murray set about trying to acquire some more horses with which to return to Fort Leavenworth, but he confessed "I never, even among horse dealers, met with such impudent cheats and extortioners as my Pawnee friends. They knew that I *must* buy horses and determined to have their own price." The Great Chief of the Pawnees also came to Murray and offered him a horse in exchange for his stalking telescope. Murray, after much heartburing, agreed to part with a treasure which he had used in Scotland and on the Alleghanies. The Great Chief did not honor his bargain, and Murray had to exercise great courage and presence of mind in securing the return of his telescope some hours later.

On the last day he spent among the Pawnees he saw a party of Delawares and Shawnees visit the camp on their way to the Rocky Mountains. Murray questioned them about the time taken them to ride from Fort Leavenworth, and they replied twenty-five. This hardened Murray's determination to return, so, with the help of Sanitsarish, he secured another horse. Vernunft too, had managed to secure one, a fiercer, more intractable animal. On these two mounts, accompanied by Murray's servant, and the young boy

they had brought from Fort Leavenworth, Murray and Vernunft set out in spite of pressing invitations to accompany the Pawnees to their winter camp.

They left August 8, on a morning more glorious than Murray had seen on the Atlantic. They had a false start however, for after travelling some twenty miles, Vernunft was thrown and trampled upon by his newly acquired mount. This necessitated a return to the Pawnee camp till August 11, when Vernunft felt well enough for them to start again.

This time, they had two Pawnee guides, but on August 14, they deserted him, influenced doubtless by the parties of Pawnees whom they met en route. So Murray undertook to guide his three companions back with the help of the sun and his compass. It was no sinecure. Everywhere steep ridges, irregular and broken, obstructed their progress. So he redirected his steps to the Snake river, where they camped for the night in a terrific thunderstorm. He held to a course north to north by east, in order to strike the Kansas River, which they did on August 21, after a week's travel. He was convinced that they crossed it by 50 to 100 miles lower than they had done when travelling out west with the Pawnees.

The two nights after they had crossed the Kansas River were he most miserable of all. The rain beat down upon them, and they had the greatest difficulty in making a fire. It literally washed away the last of their clothing: Vernunft was left with some washleather drawers and moccasins and a blanket, while Murray himself had a woolen nightcap, a shirt, a pair of coarse corduroy breeches, holed stockings and shoes.

On August 25, Murray had to make a decision. They met a large cross trail running at right angles to the course which they were taking. He was convinced that it was the trail which they had followed at the beginning of July, and was backed up by the American boy. His own servant, however, agreed with Vernunft, that it was not. So Murray decided to ride along it by himself for a short time and try and recognize some familiar landmarks. He had only ridden about two hundred yards, when he saw a white object in a bush by the side of the track. He dismounted, looked at it, and found it to be a scrap of the London *Times* newspaper. This gave them their direction, and from now onwards, their trials were merely those of endurance. They reached Fort Leavenworth on September 3, where Captain Hunter soon set them to rights and Murray became a civilized Englishman once more.

This did not end his Indian expeditions however. He stayed for some days at the Fort, visiting Kickapoo Indians and Potawatomies, to collect vocabularies of their language. Later, he went hunting with the Winnebagoes, and made a journey to the Alleghanies to visit the remnants of the Delawares. Later still, at Lake Oswego, he visited the country of the Mohawks. There, he had the pleasure of once more meeting Fenimore Cooper. He dined and spent the afternoon with "the Walter Scott of the Ocean", and recorded:

> His house, both in size and appearance, looks like the parent of the thriving village in which it now stands. Before it is a circular lawn, now the scene of several pleasure garden improvements; beyond which the lake, with its wooded and verdant promontories, its sloping banks and the bold headlands which are at its upper extremities, forms a most agreeable landscape.

This journey, interesting as it is from Murray's account, published as *Travels in North America* by Richard Bentley in 1839, served as the basis for Murray's own essay into fiction writing: *Prairie Bird*.[1] His *Travels* reached a third edition in 1854, and this success must owe much to the hold which *Prairie Bird* established on the reading public.

The novel tells the story in true Fenimore Cooper fashion of two English families who emigrate to the edge of the paleface settlement. In the racial warfare waged between the advancing whites, against the retreating Indians, the daughter of one of these families is carried off by the Delawares. She is adopted by the great chief, and grows up as his adopted daughter. In the course of time, a son of the other emigrant family, Reginald Brandon (an allotrope of Charles Murray himself), goes on a hunting expedition with an Indian party. This of course, was just what Charles Murray had done. On this Indian hunting expedition, he meets and falls in love with the adopted daughter of the great chief. Then begins a series of thrilling adventures, hardships and entanglements, that happily conclude with the explanation of everything.

What gives this novel added interest to the reader of Charles Murray's *Travels in North America* is its further autobiographical significance. For the Prairie Bird of the novel was none other than the daughter of James Wadsworth of Genesseo, the highly successful

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[1] *Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836, including a Summer Residence with the Pannee Tribes of Indians and a Visit in Cuba and the Azore Islands.* Two volumes, 1839. (Revised, 1854). *The Prairie Bird.* Three volumes, 1844; 1845; 1857.

farmer whom Murray had visited on arriving in America. Wadsworth had taken no fancy to the young English blood, and forbade his daughter to communicate with him. By fictionalising his experiences, and casting her at Oolita, Murray could address her through the medium of the novel and testify to the undying nature of his affection.

The relationship, like that in the *Prairie Bird,* had a happy ending, however, for after fourteen years, James Wadsworth died, and Murray was able to marry her. By that time, Murray was well on the way to becoming a figure of consequence in the diplomatic world. He had become a groom-in-waiting to Queen Victoria and master of the household in the year before his *Travels* were published. By 1849 he had also held the offices of secretary of legation at Naples, and was holding the position of consul-general to Egypt.

It is a great pity that in the concentration of the historians upon the spectacular travellers like Harriet Martineau or Mrs. Trollope, such a judicious account as Charles Murray's has been ignored. President Van Buren wrote to Murray in 1836:

> Casual visitors from your country to this are unfortunately so seldom desirous of seeing things here as they really are, or at least give themselves so little touble to do so, and the right disposition in this regard having been so marked in you, I have, I confess to you, been not a little anxious about the result of your observations.

He need not have been. Another American, Waddy Thompson, read the *Travels,* and posthaste wrote to Murray: "I do not use too strong a word when I say to you that I love the man who can see everything in a foreign land as you have seen and described ours."[2]

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[2] The work was well received by the literary critics. "He has treated the manners and institutions of the United States with a very uncommon freedom from the prejudices either of nation or caste; insomuch that we have seldom, if ever, seen a more fair account of republican establishments and American society than is to be found in this work, written by the inmate of a court and a member of one of the noblest families in the empire." *Edinburgh Review,* LXXIII, 77–83; see S. Austin Alibone, *Critical Dictionary of English Literature,* London and Philadelphia, 1908, Vol. II, *sub* Murray, Charles Augustus.

Book Reviews

The Department of State: A History of its Organization, Procedure, and Personnel. By Graham H. Stuart. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 517. $7.50.

In this book Dr. Stuart has presented a comprehensive and objective study of the organization and development of the Department of State from its beginnings in 1789 to the present day. No comparable work has previously existed, and no one more competent could have undertaken to prepare such a study. The author's unique qualifications as an authority in this field are well known to students of American government.

The work is divided into thirty-six chapters, covering in chronological order the terms of office of the various Secretaries of State, the thirty-five who served a regular term of appointment or in an *ad interim* capacity prior to the Civil War, and the thirty-four since that time.

The beginnings of the Department of State under the Constitution stemmed from the Act setting up the Department of Foreign Affairs, which became law with the signature of President Washington on July 27, 1789. The functions of the Department were to the effect that the Secretary should perform such duties as the President might assign to him relative to correspondence, or negotiations with public ministers or consuls from the United States or from foreign states, and it was specifically provided that the business of the Department should be conducted "in such manner as the President of the United States shall, from time to time order or instruct." Since certain duties had to be performed correlating the Federal government with the States, and since Congress felt that the Department would not be over-burdened with work and could perform these domestic tasks as well, a bill was passed and approved by the President on September 15, 1789, changing the name of the Department of Foreign Affairs to that of Department of State and augmenting its functions. In addition to the duties pertaining to foreign affairs, the Secretary was now directed to receive from the President the bills, orders, and resolutions of Congress, and have them printed and copies delivered to each senator and representative, and the authenticated copies to the governor of each State. He was made custodian of the Great Seal of the United States and given authority to affix the seal to all civil commissions of officers to be appointed by the President. He also was given custody of all books, records, and papers that pertained to the Department. A budget of approximately $6,000 took care of the financial needs of the Department of State, which included a staff of five or six persons, including the Secretary, a chief clerk, one or two other clerks, an interpreter, a doorkeeper, and a messenger.

The author describes step by step the growth and expanding functions of the Department up to the present time. Today it has a staff of over 6,000 persons housed in a number of buildings scattered throughout the National Capitol. The historical development of the administrative organization and method of operation of the Department, with its various

reorganizations, and its great expansion during and after the First and Second World Wars, is fully presented and objectively evaluated. Emphasis is placed upon the more recent period. Approximately two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the period since the Civil War, and approximately one half of the entire volume covers the period since World War I.

Perhaps a little more attention could have been given to the significant role of the Department during the last ten years in bringing the fields of international information and educational activities into closer relationship with the execution of American foreign policy. Many agencies, Federal and private, are participating in programs aimed to strengthen international cooperation through the interchange of knowledge and skills in technical, scientific, and cultural fields, and the Department of State is actively engaged in coordinating these efforts with the broad objectives of our foreign policy. An important aspect of this program is the facilitation of the interchange of students, professors, national leaders, and specialists in cultural, educational, scientific, and technical fields, thereby strengthening cooperative international relations by making possible an increasing number of person to person contacts between the citizens of friendly countries throughout the world. This has been made possible by various Acts and appropriations of the Congress. This technique in the field of foreign affairs represents a new and significant method of conducting the foreign relations of the United States.

In his concluding remarks the author states, with regard to the conduct of foreign policy:

"Public opinion must be informed and its support obtained. A democracy can achieve success in no other way. Never before in history have the problems of foreign policies been more difficult and acute than today, and never before has it been so essential that they be solved by peaceful means. Inasmuch as the primary causes of war are conflicts in foreign policy, our first line of defense is adequate machinery for the conduct of foreign relations. We need the best army, navy, and air force to support our foreign policy, but this policy must merit defense. It must be a policy so wisely formulated that its execution will appeal to the citizens as both reasonable and necessary."

This objective and well-balanced history of the organization, personnel and procedure of the Department of State, the agency of the Government primarily responsible for carrying out the foreign policy of the United States, will long remain the standard work on the subject.

J. Manuel Espinosa

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Frederick Catherwood, Archt. By Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. Oxford University Press, New York, 1950. Pp. xix, 177.

This is the biography of a forgotten man. Famous in his own generation, and an associate of many of the notable men in his profession both in Europe and America, he has strangely become lost to posterity—until Mr. von Hagen currently revived his memory. After diligent searching for

the scattered records, the author has woven together the high points of Catherwood's life into a compact biography of less than one hundred and fifty pages. An appendix contains a reproduction of over forty of Catherwood's magnificent architectural drawings, principally of the Mayan ruins of Central America. These items together with an introduction by Aldous Huxley make an attractive and useful book distinguished by its bright style, roomy composition, careful notes and bibliography.

Catherwood's life reads like a tale of travel and adventure in forgotten corners of the world where he sought out the architectural relics of the past. Its span (1799–1854) coincided in time with the initial burst of enthusiasm in England and on the Continent for the new science of archeology. Many of the great persons in the new field dramatically crossed the architect's path as he travelled with drawing board and Camera Lucida through the ruins of Rome, Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Transjordan, and eventually the Mayas of Central America. For a time he lived in Rome where a fashionable coterie of his countrymen had an art colony and Lady Devonshire was making excavations in the Forum. He visited Athens shortly after Lord Elgin had plundered the Parthenon. He arrived in Egypt the year Champollion published the *Précis* on the Rosetta Stone. In America he became a friend of Prescott, then busy working on his *Conquest of Mexico,* and in Panama he met Schliemann who was still to discover the ruins of ancient Troy.

Apparently, however, even these activities could not contain Catherwood's tremendous energies. First in London, then in New York, he became a panoramist, a profession which drew large crowds before the days of movies to view such aberrations as poluphusikons and eidophusikons where the great scenes of the past and present as drawn by the artist could be viewed under the varying natural conditions of sunshine, rain, gloom, and storm, and "where the eye was pleased without the brain being duly exerted." Late in his life this amazing man showed his versatility by becoming a civil engineer. In this capacity he built a railroad in British Guiana, the first to operate in South America. Sick with malaria he went to California amid the fever of the gold rush. Even death came dramatiaclly when his ship was lost at sea as he returned from an English visit.

The focal point of interest in Catherwood's biography is his adventure into Maya Land. In New York in 1836 the artist met John Lloyd Stephens, writer of travelogues, and together they learned of the Mayan ruins. Their first trip three years later took the two men to the ruins of the Old Empire of the Mayas where they made careful studies of Copán, Palenque, Quirigua, and other centers. The architect's drawings were "so scientifically accurate," according to Huxley, "that modern experts in pre-Columbian history can spell out the date of a stele from Catherwood's representations of its, to him, incomprehensible hieroglyphs." These became a part of Stephen's book of travel published in 1841.

On a second trip the two men went to Yucatán where they visited the centers of the Mayan New Empire at Uxmal, Kabah, Labná, Chichén Itzá, and other places. This time Catherwood published his drawings himself, and these plates with the artist's own introduction form an important part of von Hagen's volume.

This introduction is interesting because of Catherwood's shrewd guesses on the Mayas and their culture. He took issue with such contemporary writers as Kingsborough and Waldeck both on the antiquity of the Mayan civilization and its origin. He denied their contention that Mayan carving had its aparentation in the Old World. From his own knowledge of Near Eastern ruins he insisted that the Mayan work was influenced by neither Egyptian, Carthaginian, nor wandering Jewish tribes as these men believed. Moreover, his guess as to the antiquity of the ruins was more in accord with later than contemporary opinion. With all credit to Catherwood it must be admitted, however, that real advances in Mayan lore had to await the discovery of the works of the Spanish missionaries and explorers who had made careful studies of the ancient peoples, as Prescott had learned, but which lay so long in dusty archives unused.

PAUL S. LIETZ

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Forgotten Patriot: *Robert Morris*. By Eleanor Young. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950. Pp. IX, 280. $4.

Few Americans have enjoyed so remarkable or chequered a carreer as Robert Morris. Among his distinctions were membership in the Pennsylvania legislature, election as a delegate to the Continental Congress, the signing of the Declaration of Independence, secretaryship of both navy and treasury under the new government, participation in the Constitutional Convention, signing of the Constitution, and membership in the first United States Senate, in which capacity he was largely instrumental in transferring the national capital from New York to Philadelphia, and eventually to Washington. During the Revolution he played a large part in establishing a navy, not disdaining the operation of a fleet of privateers which enriched him handsomely. But it is chiefly as the financier of the Revolution that he distinguished himself. Although his fiscal views did not prevail with Congress he strove mightily against the collapse of Continental currency and state paper money, even pledging his own fortune to secure loans and credit. Only when the inertia of Congress and the opposition of the States proved insuperable did he resign his office.

Morris' extraordinary business acumen was revealed early in his life. At first commerce and business absorbed his interest, but in time he turned to investment in public lands and urban real estate. Goaded by a mania which belied his otherwise good judgment he acquired millions of acres. Because of the inefficiency of one associate and the dishonesty of another he soon found himself in difficulty. His problems were multiplied by the failure of a London bank, some indiscreet building operations, and the general stringency. With property worth millions he could not borrow money, or sell or mortgage his possessions. Some lands were attached and sold for taxes or to satisfy creditors. Despite farcical efforts to evade creditors and sheriffs he was incarcerated, his indebtedness falling just short of three million dollars. The passing of the United States Bankruptcy Act

enabled him to regain his freedom after more than three and a half years of imprisonment.

In spite of his services during the Revolution and the following decade Morris never received due recognition, and consequently he is practically unknown. To rescue him from oblivion the author set herself the task of a new biography, based largely on the extensive documentary evidence unearthed since Oberholtzer's effort nearly fifty years ago. In her preface she states that her book is directed to the 'ordinary reader' rather than the scholar. Accordingly she has produced a fictionalized biography in which dialogue is invented to heighten interest, and free rein is given to her imagination in creating scenes and conversation. There are a few digressions of human interest, and numerous feminine touches; and phrases now current are resorted to for interest and piquancy. In general Morris is portrayed as the man of the hour, always superior and correct. There are no footnotes, but a few references are given in an appendix. These however are so general as to be useless to the scholar. This is a well written and sprightly biography, interesting and entertaining; but the definitive life of Robert Morris remains to be written.

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Notes and Comments

The Ramparts We Guard is, like the preceding works of Professor R. M. MacIver of Columbia University, an exceedingly timely book. Published recently by The Macmillan Company it is not long in pages—119—but it is deep in import and highly encouraging in these days of wavering faith in our constitutional ways. The contents of the little volume are the substance of lectures delivered by Professor MacIver before the University of North Carolina in the Spring of 1949, and we must congratulate the publisher on getting these words before a wider audience. We have seen no discussion of our democracy which conceives its essence in such a solid American way. MacIver bases the American way on the traditional fundamental principles as established and developed by "our enlightened citizens" from colonial times to the present—stout, non-partisan, natural law, common law, constitutional principles. These are the yardstick, the democratic code, for judging the mistakes and misconceptions of administrators, politicians, rightists and leftists, who are in a way undermining our American ramparts. The thirteen chapters are an excellent definition of our democracy as distinct from any other, and as especially opposed to the communist type of totalitarianism. Individually, the chapters expose legislative trends toward establishing civil rights and equality of opportunity, the perils from false prophets, in fine, the security that lies within the traditional concept of a dynamic democracy. MacIver does more than issue a call to defend the ramparts of our nation—he demands that we make vital our faith, our wisdom, and our courage and assume the burden of our democratic heritage.

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History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution, by Peter I. Lyaschenko, was translated by L. M. Herman and E. L. Raymond, and published by Macmillan in 1949 through the instrumentality of the Council of Learned Societies. Lyashchenko is a "legal Soviet." His book has had the full approval of the Russian government and has now been put through a second edition, longer than this packed volume of 880 pages. His philosophy follows the Marx-Lenin-Stalin concept of history, so opposite to that described as ours by Professor MacIver. Into the communist mold the author has fitted a huge amount of data. Straining and

tugging at times he has evolved interpretations from the data, which are open to a far more natural interpretation. The mold, the facts, and the interpretations are those of the doctrinaire rather than the objective academician. As a result the reader must remain in doubt about both the data and its usage, since he cannot be certain that all of the facts are presented, especially those outside the field of the author's agrarian studies, and consequently cannot be certain of the validity of the assessment of the facts. It is only annoying to a sane scholar and stultifying to his intelligence to behold statements that many of the great inventions, as the incandescent lamp, the locomotive, had been perfected but not publicized in Russia long before they amazed the American public. But such ideas along with the materialistic concept of history are part and parcel of the heritage of "knowledge" brought to this country by Russian refugees of the last generation and taught to their children who are now in some high schools in our country and who will not believe otherwise than their parents. It would seem, that while there is a contribution in the book toward knowledge of the industrialization of Russia, the only purpose served by its presence is to have it as a sample of Soviet mentality in research and teaching, with which we incline to think America is fed up.

* * * *

James C. Malin has begun the second series of his Grassland Historical Studies. In 1946 and 1947 he published the first series on *The Grassland of North America* in volumes entitled *Essays on Historiography,* and *Prolegomena to its History.* The present series is to be in three volumes on the general subject of *Natural Resources Utilization in a Background of Science and Technology.* Volume I is *Geology and Geography.* In his Preface Mr. Malin says: "So far as I know, this is the first time that geology and the expansion of geological knowledge has been made an integral part of a major historical study. Part One has to do with Wood and Minerals for Fuel and Building Materials, especially in Kansas and Nebraska from 1830 to 1930. Part II is The Early History of the Town of Kansas (Kansas City, Missouri): A Case Study Fragment, History and Geography, covering the years 1850 to 1877. The book is an interesting contribution. It is in lithoprint from the typed pages, 377 in number, and is paper bound and sells for two dollars and a half. Copies may be obtained from the author at 1541 University Drive, Lawrence, Kansas.

MID-AMERICA

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VOLUME 32, NUMBER 4 OCTOBER 1950

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VOLUME 32 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 21 NUMBER 4

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Early Showboat and Circus in the Upper Valley

In late years the study of the early theater in the Upper Mississippi Valley has received considerable attention, but certain aspects of the subject have been neglected. Thus in a recent summary article on theatrical activities in this region only brief mention is made of the early circus companies and there are no observations on the showboat.[1] But both forms of entertainment were closely related to the theater, and for a full picture of the known dramatic activity along the Upper Mississippi neither can well be overlooked. If the circus seems somewhat out of place in a discussion of the early theater, it may be pointed out that at least one travelling circus company in this area before the Civil War presented scenes from Shakespeare as a regular part of its entertainment; and most of the circus companies of this time produced spectacles of varying dramatic emphases which contribute in part to the history of the theater, if we are to accept Eaton's definition that "The theatre is wherever anybody gets up before a public and entertains them by pretending."[2] Further, such theatrical entertainments on the part of the circus may possibly have inspired, as the circus itself surely did, one of the famous incidents in the greatest of all Mississippi stories, *Huckleberry Finn*. But of all this, in due time.

The circus and the showboat in the years before the Civil War had much in common. Circuses often travelled on "showboats," but normally gave their performances on land; while the legitimate

[1] Harold and Ernestine Briggs, "The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley," MID-AMERICA, XXXI (New Series XX), July, 1949, 131–162.

[2] Walter P. Eaton, *The Actor's Heritage*, Boston, 1924, 44. Cited by Briggs, *loc. cit.*, 132.

showboats that we know were on the Upper Mississippi at this time commonly gave performances that savored more of the circus than of the theater. Although the circus was by no means an institution American in origin, the showboat was thoroughly American. During pioneer days it brought the delights of the theater to every city and hamlet of consequence along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and many of their tributaries; when the Civil War disrupted river traffic, the showboat almost disappeared. However, it revived quickly with the peace and enjoyed perhaps its greatest days in the last two decades of the century.[3] Widespread and popular though it was, the showboat remains unchronicled by historians.[4] But here

[3] With this later period we are not here concerned, but it offers a fresh and rewarding field of investigation to the scholar. As he uncovers the story of the popular showboats that plied the waters of middle America in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of this century, he will come upon such gloriously named boats as the *Golden Rod, Cotton Blossom, Daisy Belle, River Queen, River Maid, Water Queen, Valley Belle, Princess, Dixie, Sunny South, Wonderland, Dreamland, Majestic,* as well as the *New Era, Paris Pavilion,* Markle's *Floating Palace, Billy Bryant's Showboat, Price's Sensation,* and French's *New Sensation.* The last-named boat, owned by A. B. French, "King of the Showboatmen," was possibly the finest of all. It was destroyed by fire in 1900 at Elmwood Plantation on the Red River. In the great days of the showboats it was a common practice to tow the boats upriver in the Spring to Hastings, Minnesota (at the junction with the St. Croix River), and then float down the whole length of the river, finishing the season in the bayous and canals of Louisiana. Fourteen showboats are said to have survived to 1925. Random references to the later showboats can be found in certain of the volumes of the American Guide Series and in the Rivers of America Series. See also Herbert and Edward Quick, *Mississippi Steamboatin',* New York, 1926, 331–334; Paul B. Pettit, "Showboat Theatre," *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XXXI (April, 1945), no. 2, 167–175; Edward J. Eustace, "Showboat Must Go On," *New York Times,* May 10, 1936; Horace Reynolds, "Billy Bryant, Master of the Ohio," *New York Times,* November 14, 1937. Billy Bryant's *Children of Ol' Man River, the Life and Times of a Showboat Trouper,* New York, 1936, is of little historical worth. One can expect to find showboat activity at least on all the tributaries of the Mississippi and Ohio that were regularly navigable by steamboats. For an account of the navigable streams and of the low-water difficulties and high-water seasons, see Louis C. Hunter, *Steamboats on the Western Rivers,* Cambridge, 1949.

[4] Thus, there is no mention of the showboat in the very extensive bibliography of American culture in the *Literary History of the United States,* edited by Robert Spiller *et al,* New York, 1948. Arthur Hobson Quinn, whose *History of American Drama,* 2 vols., New York, 1923, 1927, is a standard reference (chiefly concerned with the drama but in part with the conditions in which it was presented), ignores the showboat; William Carson, in his thorough study of the early years of the St. Louis stage, *The Theater on the Frontier, the Early Days of the St. Louis Stage,* Chicago, 1932, does not refer to it, though St. Louis from an early time was something of a center of showboat activity. Not all showboats were towed barges; some were regular steamers. But the steamboat historians have also largely neglected this colorful aspect of river activity. No help can be garnered from William J. Petersen's *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi,* Iowa City, 1937, or from Louis C. Hunter's most compre-

and there in early newspaper accounts and advertisements, and in the yellowed pages of memoirs and recollections of early actors, the showboat has not been wholly forgotten. Perhaps this essay will serve as a reminder to historians who have quite ignored this form of popular entertainment.

The showboat was a very natural development. We know that the earliest dramatic companies in the West travelled on the rivers;[5] these natural routes offered the easiest and quickest transportation for the troupes and their baggage of costumes, props, and scenery. Thus, in a sense, one might say that the very first boat carriers of Western Thespians were "showboats" of a sort. One commentator even speaks of Huck's log raft, carrying the Duke and the Dauphin, as a crude kind of Thespian float.[6] But the legitimate showboat, as we normally use the term, not only transported a troupe, but also had a stage and an audience room for performances on board. The invention of such a boat is generally attributed to William Chapman, Senior, an English actor who made his first stage appearance in this country at the Bowery Theater, New Work, in 1828.[7] Not long after this he organized his own play company, made up largely of the members of his family, and headed for the West, giving performances in Pittsburgh, Louisville, and other towns. Sometime in the late twenties or early thirties, most probably about 1833, he had

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hensive study, *Steamboats on the Western Rivers.* The present writer devotes a chapter of his book, *The Early Theater in Eastern Iowa,* Chicago, 1939, to showboat and circus activity in Davenport before the Civil War. It was that study which led to this expanded account; and this, in turn, may ultimately lead to a history of the showboat.

[5] Ralph Keeler, *Vagabond Adventures,* Boston, 1872; Noah M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life as I Found It,* St. Louis, 1880; Solomon Smith, *Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years,* New York, 1868; Ralph Leslie Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier,* New York, 1925.

[6] R. E. Banta, *The Ohio,* New York, 1949, p. 343.

[7] Data on the Chapman Family and their early showboat may be found in Smith, *Theatrical Management;* Noah M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life;* R. E. Banta, *The Ohio;* Constance Rourke, *The Roots of American Culture,* New York, 1942, and her *Troupers of the Gold Coast, or the Rise of Lotta Crabtree,* New York, 1928; Arthur Hornblow, *A History of the Theatre in America,* Philadelphia, 1919; Ralph L. Rusk, *Literature of Middle West Frontier; The Ohio Guide,* New York, 1940; *Indiana,* New York, 1941; Pettit, "Showboat Theatre," *loc. cit.*

Another pioneer exhibition and theater showboat, which has been overlooked by the chroniclers, was that of John Banvard, later to achieve wide fame for his great panorama of the Mississippi. Banvard started with his boat from New Harmony, Indiana, December 18, 1834, and floated down the Wabash to the Ohio and finally to New Orleans. The adventure was short-lived. See *Banvard, or the Adventures of an Artist, an O'er True Tale,* London, 1848, and the unpublished MS. autobiography of Banvard in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. (Courtesy of Miss Kathryn Johnson, Manuscript Division.)

built in Pittsburgh a "floating theatre."[8] It was little more than a large flat-boat, with "a comfortable little house forward and a plain little hall . . . aft"; Sol Smith, a contemporary actor-manager, called it "a singular affair." A flag marked with the word "Theatre" flew from the roof of the hall. Inside, the seats for the patrons consisted of hard board benches stretching from one side of the boat to the other. At one end was a small stage "with a muslin curtain and tallow candles for footlights."[9] This was a far cry from the gaudy showboats which were to develop later, with their hundreds of gas jets, their crystal chandeliers, sparkling mirrors, and plush seats. Still, Chapman did not need to worry about these elegancies; what his boat lacked in the way of comfort or tradition, he more than made up for in the skill and freshness of his performances.

The Chapmans were a talented family and known to be gifted actors, but they never let the demands of their performances impinge too seriously on the joys of living; and high among their joys was fishing. When the catfish were biting, a play might well be brought to a halt for a good catch. Such interruptions were probably not unknown to other later showboats. Sol Smith recounts the Chapman family's fondness for this pastime, pointing out that when the actors were off-stage for an interval they would often drop a line "over the stern of the Ark."[10] More than one play must have been interrupted by a nibble. Smith writes of one such amusing incident:

> . . . while playing *The Stranger* (Act IV, scene 1) there was a long stage wait for Francis, the servant of the misanthropic Count Walbrough.
>
> "Francis! Francis!" called the Stranger.
>
> No reply.
>
> "Francis! Francis!" (a pause) "Francis!" rather angrily called the Stranger again.
>
> *A very distant voice*: "Coming sir!" (A considerable pause, during which the Stranger walks up and down, à la Macready, in a great rage.)
>
> "Francis!"
>
> Francis (entering): "Here I am, sir."
>
> Stranger: "Why did you not come when I called?"
>
> Francis: "Why, sir, I was just hauling in one of the d . . . dest big catfish you ever saw!"
>
> It was some minutes before the laughter of the audience could be restrained sufficiently to allow the play to proceed.[11]

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[8] Rusk, I, 397.
[9] Hornblow, I, 349.
[10] Solomon Smith, *The Theatrical Journey-Work and Anecdotical Recollections of Sol Smith*, Philadelphia, 1854, 112–113.
[11] *Ibid.*

There were other hazards to the performances, too, as we know from Sol Smith's account. At one time during a Chapman engagement at a small Indiana town on the Ohio, the floating theater was cast loose by some mischievous boys. The boat could not be moored for half a dozen miles, and the audience had to walk back to the village.[12] This first brave venture of a floating theater came to a close in 1840 with the death of the elder Chapman.[13] There is no record that the Chapmans ever ascended the Upper Mississippi, and it seems improbable that they did, for there were few settlements of consequence on the upper river during the thirties.

In the years before the Civil War, showboats appeared probably for the first time in the north during the early fifties. It was in this decade that the *Floating Palace,* the *James Raymond*, and the *Banjo* owned by "Dr." Gilbert R. Spalding[14] and Charles J. Rogers of the Spalding and Rogers Circus Company came to be familiar visitors at the settlements along the upper river; they also plied along the Ohio and some of its tributaries. Of these boats, the *Floating Palace* was the largest and most elaborately equipped; it had no propulsion of its own but was towed by a steamer, usually the *James Raymond.* The *James Raymond,* however, was not devoted solely to the business of hauling its more ornate partner, for it, too, was fitted up with a show-hall; and occasionally it operated independently.[15] The *Banjo* had its own power of propulsion; it was usually referred to as the *Steamer Banjo.*

More is known about the *Floating Palace* than about the other showboats. With its exterior bright with red and gold paint and with its lavish interior, it was considered "palatial" even when compared to the gorgeous river steamers of the period.[16] And a picture

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[12] John Banvard recounts a similar incident of his showboat being cast loose during a performance. *Banvard, or the Adventures of an Artist etc.*

[13] Rourke, *Troupers of the Gold Coast,* 39.

[14] In the early newspaper accounts and advertisements the name is usually spelled Spaulding. But the form Spalding is unquestionably correct. He was originally a pharmacist in Albany, New York, and his name is listed in the directories there from 1839–1858 as Spalding. (Courtesy of Mrs. Clara M. McLean, Harmanus Bleecker Library.) Further, his name appears as Spalding on the enrollment records of the *Banjo* and the *James Raymond* in the listings of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, now preserved in the Industrial Records Branch of the National Archives, Washington, D. C. He gained his title of "Dr." because he could fill prescriptions, and appropriately he sported the medical man's heavy moustache and tapering beard of the period. Earl Chapin May, *The Circus from Rome to Ringling,* New York, 1933, 77–78.

[15] *Vide infra,* note 38.

[16] May, 77–78; *Cincinnati Enquirer,* June 30, 1916.

of it has survived.[17] This shows a large superstructure erected on a keel-bottomed barge. The structure was built well to the front of the supporting float and with a considerable free space at the stern of the barge; an overhang from the second level of the theater was supported with six pillars to the rear deck. Along either side of the boat were two rows of windows, thirteen in the lower and fourteen in the upper row, the extra window above being in the overhang. Between the lines of the windows were the words *FLOATING PALACE.* The rear of the theater contained the entrances; the main entrance was at the center, and on either side of the rear deck outside-stairs mounted to the upper level. The roof of the structure was rounded to the sides with a low railing about it. At the rear of the roof was probably located the chime of bells which served to herald the approach of the boat at each stopping place.[18] There were three flag masts—one extending from the front-center of the main structure, with an American flag and pennant; another from the center of the roof, with its flag carrying the words *FLOATING PALACE*; and the third extending from the stern of the barge, the flag decorated with a horse rampant and very likely the name of the Spalding and Rogers Circus Company. The boat was built in Cincinnati in 1851 expressly for show purposes.[19]

The interior arrangements of the *Floating Palace* consisted of a regulation-sized circus ring, a stage, and a large auditorium space; in addition there were offices, a museum room, a green room, some dressing rooms, and a stable for the horses used in the spectacles. There was also a large pipe organ which supplied some of the music for the performances. The audience chamber was spacious; estimates of its seating capacity range as high as 2,500 persons.[20] But

[17] This picture of the *Floating Palace* is reproduced on the cover of the *Palimpsest*, State Historical Society of Iowa, XXXI (January, 1950), no. 1. Another illustration may be found in Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Towpaths*, New York, 1926, opposite p. 334.

[18] In later years a calliope was used to announce the arrival of the boat and to attract patrons. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 30, 1916. (Courtesy of Ethel L. Hutchins, Public Library of Cincinnati.) May, 78.

[19] Keeler, *Vagabond Adventures*, 172; Pettit, "Showboat Theatre," *loc. cit.*, 169. Pettit suggests that the *Floating Palace* was "about 110 feet long and 35 feet wide"; but this is wholly conjectural. The dimensions of the boat are not known. Since the *Floating Palace* did not run under its own power, no enrollments or licenses were required for it; and no records regarding it have been found in the papers of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation preserved in the National Archives.

[20] A. M. Smith, "Transporting the Circus," *Hobbies*, LIV (November, 1949), no. 9, 34. At a performance in St. Louis in 1852 it is said that 2500 persons watched a show on board the *Floating Palace*, many of them peering through the windows and paying a dollar for the privilege. *Missouri*, New York, 1941, 154.

this seems unlikely. A trustworthy newspaper editor of the time who had no great love for popular entertainment of this sort and who thus had no motive for exaggeration viewed the interior arrangements of the showboat and asserted that there were seats for 1800 persons, though, he said, as many as 2000 could be accomodated if necessary.[21] The dress circle and the "family boxes" were on the first level, enough for 800 spectators. The dress circle seats were all cane-bottomed arm chairs, reserved by number; the charge for them was fifty cents. The "family boxes" were cushioned seats for twenty-five cents. The gallery seated 1000; a special section of it was used by negroes. All gallery seats were twenty-five cents. The interior was lighted with gas. If there was a chill in the air, heat was provided with hot-water or steam pipes.[22]

The museum of the *Foating Palace* was very possibly located in the entranceway to the main auditorium. It was considered by one visitor to be "one of the most splendid museums ever collected."[23] If we are to have faith in this same observer, over 100,000 curiosities were on display here; these included stuffed animals and live animals. Perhaps the most spectacular stuffed animal was a giraffe; for liveliness there was a white bear. Surely this was no musty, staid museum hall, for here amidst the exhibits a puppet show was given, too. And there were performances by a Mr. Nellis, born without arms, and by Madame Olinga, a "beautiful and daring tight rope performer."[24] Along with these attractions was the mystery of the "Invisible Lady." This was a mechanical contraption consisting of a hollow brass ball with four trumpets protruding from it; the whole was suspended inside of a hollow brass railing. The curious would direct questions into the trumpets and would be answered mysteriously by a person hidden under the deck who spoke through the tubing.[25] The naïveté of the inventor of such a device can be matched only by the naïveté of the persons it attracted.

The *Floating Palace* along with the *James Raymond* carried a complement of about one hundred persons, entertainers and those connected with the running of the enterprise.[26] Included in this group was a regular stock company which was prepared to put on

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[21] *Davenport Gazette,* June 9, 1853.

[22] *Wabash Courier* (Terre Haute), April 9, 1853; *Davenport Gazette,* May 19, 1853.

[23] *Wheeling Intelligencer,* May 20, 1856. Cited by Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley,* Glendale, 1932, 325. Courtesy of Edith L. Rathbun, Ohio State Library.

[24] *Idem.* See also Keeler, *Vagabond Adventures,* 172.

[25] *Ibid.,* 192.

[26] *Ibid.,* 174.

"any play from *Hamlet* to *Ten Nights in a Bar Room.*"[27] Unhappily the records of the straight dramatic performances have not been uncovered; the known performances appear to have been almost wholly of a circus nature. The surviving advertisements of the shows are grandiose in scope and surely suggest legitimate drama. They promised "equestrian, gymnastic, and dramatic talent. Music, drama, horsemanship. Mirth, magic, melodrama, equitation spectacles, pantomime, farce, and tragedy."[28] Often such announcements were grossly exaggerated, but spectators have recorded that what the *Floating Palace* advertised, it performed.[29] Among the entertainers were "Dan Rice with his merriest jokes,[30] a Robinson who could leap from his horse through hoops of fire and hoops of daggers, and a Mlle. Macarte, the Queen of the Arena."[31] A typical show put on by the "complete dramatic corps" was a "national drama" entitled *The Spirit of '76.* This introduced "thrilling scenes from the lives of the Revolutionary heroes: Old Put! General Washington! Mad Anthony Wayne! A grand living tableau in conclusion with the Father of his Country on his charger borne aloft in procession, on a platform, on the shoulders of his brave Continentals."[32] The *Floating Palace* played on the Upper Mississippi at least in 1852 and 1853.[33] Its career as a showboat ended with the

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27 I. B. Richman, *Ioway to Iowa*, Iowa City, 1931, 264.

28 *Davenport Gazette*, August 5, 1852.

29 The editor of the *Wabash Courier*, April 30, 1853, stated that the *Floating Palace* performances "came fully up to what it had advertised and professed to be and do ... The performances, too, were excellent."

30 Dan Rice (McLaren), 1823–1900, was one of the best known clowns (and circus owners) of his day. As early as 1844 he appeared on the Upper Mississippi, at Galena, where "he is said to have received $1,000 per week." For details of his career, see Isaac J. Greenwood, "The Circus, Its Origin and Growth Prior to 1835," *Dunlap Society Series*, New York, 1898, V, 116; Edward Le Roy Rice, *Monarchs of Minstrelsy from "Daddy" Rice to Date*, New York, 1911, 42; Thomas A. Brown, *History of the American Stage*, New York, 1870, 309.

31 *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 30, 1916.

32 *Davenport Gazette*, August 5, 1852.

33 The normal routine of the *Floating Palace* was to give an afternoon and evening performance at each stop, and it then continued to the next landing. Occasionally, two settlements might be visited in a single day. The progress of the showboat along the river may be judged by typical play-stops during the summer of 1853. In the latter part of April, 1853, the boat was on the Wabash, going as far north as Lafayette, with other stops at Terre Haute, Darwin, Hudsonville, Russellville, Vincennes, and Mt. Carmel. By May 16, 1853, it was well up the Mississippi, at Louisiana, Missouri, and at Hannibal on May 17. With intervening stops at La Grange, Tully, Warsaw, Keokuk, and other places, it reached Muscatine, May 25, 1853. At the end of May it attained its northernmost point for the summer, Galena (with performances May 30 and June 2, 1853), before returning down-river. Other stops were made at Rock Island, Albany, Savannah, Sabula, Fulton City, Lyons, Camanche, Port

opening of the Civil War. At the time it was in New Orleans where it was seized by the Confederate Forces and thereupon converted into a military hospital.[34]

The *James Raymond,* the towing steamer, was a side-wheeler of slightly over 274 tons, built in Cincinnati in 1853. The tonnage and the dimensions of the craft suggest a medium-sized boat for its day. It was 177 feet in length, thirty feet in width, and had a draft of five and one half feet.[35] Although it had but one deck, the space was fully utilized. There were staterooms for the entertainers and these rooms also served as dressing rooms. There were quarters for the crew, a galley, mess hall, and a laundry. However, this was not purely a utility vessel. It contained a concert saloon of "great elegance and convenience," called the "Ridotto." This was used for lighter entertainment. It was here that Ralph Keeler, an early actor in the West, performed with a full band of minstrels in his "jig and wench" dances.[36] The minstrels were probably Dave Reed's Minstrels who were on the *James Raymond* in the summer of 1856, led by Johnny Booker.[37] On occasion this steamer-showboat operated without the *Floating Palace.*[38] The Civil War brought an end to the entertainment activities of the *James Raymond;* it was seized by the Federal Government. But this was not a complete loss, for Spalding was paid 32,000 dollars for the boat. Liberally

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Byron, Le Claire, Hampton, Moline, Davenport, Moore House Landing, New Boston, Oquawka, Pontusuc, and Nauvoo. *Wabash Courier, Davenport Gazette, Hannibal Journal.*

[34] May, *The Circus,* 77–78.

[35] Enrollment records of the *James Raymond,* Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, Industrial Records Branch of the National Archives, Washington, D. C. A summary of the official data follows: First enrolled at Cincinnati, October 15, 1853. Built of wood, "with a transom stern with tuck, no gallery, no figurehead, one deck, and no mast." Two boilers. Tonnage: 274 and 5/95. The first owners were Spalding and Rogers (each ½); Spalding was Master. The vessel was last officially enrolled at St. Louis, October 8, 1862; the owners then were William A. Adams and Joseph G. Adams (each ½) of St. Louis. William Adams, Master. The official records indicate that George Byron Merrick in his *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi,* Cleveland, 1909, was in error in calling the vessel a stern-wheeler of 294 tons.

[36] Keeler, *Vagabond Adventures,* 172.

[37] *Wheeling Intelligencer,* May 20, 1856.

[38] The *James Raymond,* without the *Floating Palace,* gave performances at Davenport, May 26, 1858, (*Davenport Gazette,* May 20, 1858), and at St. Paul and at Stillwater, Minnesota, on the St. Croix River, about the middle of June of the same year. Presumably it performed at the intervening points on the river also; *Minneapolis Gazette,* June 22, 1858. (Courtesy of Don Woods, from Miss Kathryn Johnson, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.) See also Merrick, *Old Times,* 276. At the beginning of the Civil War, in 1861, the boats were operating separately; the *Floating Palace* was then at New Orleans, and the *James Raymond* was in the North. This is noted in the text.

he had President Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton distribute the money to wounded soldiers and their families.[39]

The little *Steamer Banjo,* which had an audience chamber for 800 people, travelled as far north as St. Paul, even to Stillwater on the St. Croix River.[40] It was a vessel of slightly over 105 tons, built in Cincinnati in 1855, measuring 115 feet in length, twenty-five feet in width, and with a draft of four feet.[41] It had a capacious stage and adequate scenery, but it is doubtful if any legitimate plays were given. The very name of the boat suggests its speciality. And

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[39] May, *The Circus,* 66. After the war the *James Raymond* was in the Memphis and Vicksburg trade. But early in 1866 it was tied up at Memphis "for several months for debts." It was sold for the creditors by the U. S. Marshall to Captain Campbell *et al,* April, 1866, for 8,500 dollars. Campbell reconditioned the vessel and then started for St. Louis early on the morning of April 24, 1866. Near Island No. 40 a boiler-head blew out and the boat caught fire. The damage amounted to about 2,000 dollars. The first engineer was killed and six or seven others seriously hurt. At this time the ship was valued at 15,000 dollars and was insured for 10,000 dollars. The wreck was ultimately towed to St. Louis and there burned at the wharf, June 2, 1866. Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, National Archives; *Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), April 25, 1866.

[40] The *Banjo* was at St. Paul in 1856 and 1858. It was at Stillwater in 1858 also. Merrick, *Old Times,* 260; Richman, *Ioway to Iowa* 264; *Minneapolis Gazette,* June 22, 1858. *Vide supra,* note 38. When the *Banjo* was at Stillwater, mid-June, 1858, the *James Raymond* was with it. On this occasion the boats were approached by "a large party of men who manifested a determination to see the sights without the accompanying fee." Their free entry was successfully prohibited. But "when the exhibition closed and the boats were pushing out, a number of missiles were thrown into the boats with considerable violence, whereupon a number of shots were aimed upon the crowd . . . no one was seriously injured, though one or two persons received slight wounds." The *Minneapolis Gazette* deplored the incident: "The whole affair was disreputable . . . there was rashness on both sides." The attack on the *Banjo* and the *James Raymond* was not without precedent. Chapman's showboat was attacked by ruffians on the Arkansas River. Rourke, *Roots of National Culture,* 139. And Banvard's boat in 1835 withstood an assault of robbers with a display of gunfire. *Banvard, or the Adventures of an Artist etc.*

[41] A brief summary from the enrollment records of the *Banjo* follows: it was "full built" (of wood), with a square stern, a tuck, no gallery, and a plain head. First enrolled at Cincinnati, October 24, 1855. The owners then were John Mann of Dayton, Ohio (¼), William McCracken of Ohio (¼), and Spalding and Rogers of New York (½). John Mann, Master. It was next enrolled at New Orleans, November 8, 1856. The owners then were Spalding and Rogers (¾) and William McCracken (¼). The vessel was not examined by the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation in 1857 or thereafter, and was "presumed abandoned during 1858." Industrial Records Branch, National Archives. Since too many years have passed for legal retribution, it may now be pointed out that the *Banjo* was not abandoned in 1858. On September 6 and 7 of 1860 it played at Kansas City with the "World's Star Minstrels," a company then including Sam Gardner, B. A. Cotton, J. W. Adams, Nick Foster, George W. Hill, P. Chatfield, T. Allen, J. Wainbold, and P. Campbell; Harold and Ernestine Briggs, "The Theatre in Early Kansas City," MID-AMERICA, XXXII (New Series XXI), April, 1950, 94.

the programs surviving support the impression that it gave a variety show of an essentially minstrel type.[42] Thus on one occasion it announced a performance of Ned Davis' Ohio Minstrels, with songs, jokes, ballads, operatic choruses, national melodies, negro eccentricities, along with dancers and danseuses.[43] At another time it advertised a burlesque dramatic troupe and a monkey circus, with acting dogs and goats; too, there were Donetti's Dissolving Views —apparently a kind of panorama. There was also the spectacle of a balloon ascension by one Eugene Godard.[44] This, by its nature, was largely a free show, but some money was garnered from it. The ascension took place from land, rather than from the boat. The preparations for the ascent, the inflation and adjustment of the balloon, were made inside a tent; those who wished to watch these preliminaries had to buy special tickets. The balloon had a "parachute attachment" to ease its descent after the hot air or gas had been exhausted.[45] Two popular entertainers who travelled for years on the *Banjo* were Jim Johnson (Gallegher), an old-time minstrel banjoist, and Ben Cotton, one of minstrelsy's immortals.[46] The regular entrance fee to the *Banjo* was twenty-five cents to all comers and to all seats. This minstrel showboat was on the Upper Mississippi during the summers of 1856, 1857, and 1858.[47]

The early showboats were closely associated with the circus in the type of entertainments that they presented. In turn, the circus companies of the forties and fifties often presented spectacles that suggest a link with the legitimate theater. Occasionally the circus invaded the precincts of the theater itself, especially in the form of equestrian displays. Thus in this period one finds the three forms of entertainment—showboat, circus, theater—often blended. Such mixed performances are mentioned several times in the rambling notes of Sol Smith, to whom the historian of the early theater is much indebted. His most striking observation on this matter concerns

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42 Mark Twain wrote an excellent description of the early minstrel shows of the forties and fifties which were probably much like those on the later *Banjo*. See Bernard De Voto (ed.), *Mark Twain in Eruption*, New York, 1940, 110–118.

43 *Davenport Gazette*, July 4, 1856 and August 12, 1857; *Daily Iowa State Democrat* (Davenport), July 18, 1856 and August 11, 1856.

44 *Davenport Gazette*, May 20, 1858.

45 *Davenport Gazette*, May 20, 1858 and May 26, 1858.

46 *Louisiana*, New York, 1941, 213.

47 Keeler, *Vagabond Adventures*, 219; Merrick, *Old Times*, 261. Files of the *Davenport Gazette*, *Daily Iowa State Democrat* (Davenport); *Minneapolis Gazette*. Richman, *Ioway to Iowa*, 263–264, states that the *Banjo* was at Keokuk in May, 1855. But I find no evidence of this; the ship was not enrolled by the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation until October 24, 1855.

Caldwell's management of the St. Charles Theater in New Orleans in the early forties. Straight drama had had a barren season; this was remedied by Caldwell with the engagement of Fogg and Stickney's horse show, with the performances at first devoted solely to equestrian displays. After a month of this, Caldwell began to mix in dramatic pieces,

> and the lovers of the legitimate who thronged the temple . . . were regaled with those finished productions of genius called farces, after witnessing the wonderful tricks of the horse Champion and listening to the refined songs (or national anthems) from a professor of Niggerology, interspersed with the chaste witticisms of the clown."[48]

If the circus thus invaded the theater on occasions, so too did the theater invade the circus.

Many of the early circus companies that travelled through the Middle West in the days before the Civil War regularly advertised the presence of "dramatic corps and pantomimists" as a part of their outfits. Among the spectacles given by these companies, we may note: *The Shoemakers of Bagdad; Ward's Mission to China; Lovers of the Rhine; St. George and the Dragon; The Shipwrecked Mariner, or a Voyage on Land and Sea; The Crusades; The Rich Turk, or the Big-Headed Family; China in Danger; Eastern Pastimes; Pocahontas Rescuing John Smith,* with the "Scalping Scene" and the "Death Song"; *The Arab Slave, or the Sultan's Halt in the Desert; The Countryman's Visit to the Circus; The Charioteer's Dilemma; Games at the Curriculum; The Tournament;* and *The Bedouins of the Desert.*[49] Many of these probably represented the gen-

[48] Smith, *Theatrical Management,* 161. For further notes on the circus-theater relationship, see Smith, *The Theatrical Apprenticeship,* 92; Rusk, *Literature,* I, 382. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life, passim.* Herman Rosse, "The Circus Theatre," *Theatre Arts Magazine,* VII (July, 1923), no. 3, 228–243.

[49] These circus spectacles were given in Davenport, Iowa, in the years before the Civil War. For complete data see the writer's book, *The Early Theater in Eastern Iowa,* 31–37. For a bit of guidance to any future historian of the circus, the following representative list of the more prominent circus companies that played in Davenport from 1838–1862 may be helpful: The American Arena Co., Howe and Mabie's Co., Dan Rice's Co., Spalding's North American Circus, Grand Olympic and United States Circus, Stokes' Co., Southwestern Circus, Crescent City Circus, Stickney and North's Co., Crane's Oriental Circus, Raymond's Menagery (*Vide infra,* note 51), Railroad Circus, Sands-Nathan's American Circus, Van Ambrugh and Co., Den Stone's Co., Tyler's Circus Exhibit, N. Buckley and Co., Levi J. North's National Circus, Yankee Robinson's Circus, H. M. Smith's Co., Bailey and Co., Driesbach's Circus and Menagery, Lent's Circus, Nixon and Kempe's Great Eastern Circus, Antonio-Carroll and Co., Smith's Great Western Circus, New Orleans Circus, Antonio Bros. Co., Sands' Circus and Homohippocal Amphitheater, De Haven's Union Circus, Mabie's Circus. Files of the *Iowa Sun and Rock Island News* (courtesy of Father Griffith, St. Ambrose College), *Davenport Gazette, Daily Iowa State Democrat, Daily Morning News, Der Demokrat,* in Davenport Public Library.

eral theme of the performers' grand entry, but very likely some of them were in semi-dramatic form, and a few may conceivably have been legitimate play performances. At least all had elements of "pretending before an audience." Several of these circus pieces were advertised in the usual contemporary theater fashion, "with a most laughable comic afterpiece." This may have been merely a carry-over from the usual theater jargon, but the actuality which it suggests may have been carried over, too.

Certainly one of the most interesting historical items unearthed in a study of the early circus along the Mississippi was the notice of H. M. Smith's Circus Company which visited Davenport, Iowa, for two performances on July 12, 1856.[50] The announcement of the circus stated that scenes from Shakespeare were to be presented: sketches from Falstaff, and scenes from the *Merchant of Venice* and *Richard III.* These were but a part of a varied program which ran briefly as follows: there was to be a military brass and string band; ground and "lofty" tumbling; a fancy dance by Mlle. Victoria Smith, danseuse; a "burlesque imitation of the most distinguished personages of the age, drawn from reality;" a piece entitled *The Countryman's Visit to the Circus;* and *The Shipwrecked Mariner, or a Voyage on Land and Sea;* trick ponies; the Duplicate Ladders—two ladders held upright by one man while three others mounted to the tops, "forming themselves into beautiful pictures, classic positions, etc., as taken from ancient statues;" the Flying Indian—a trapeze performer; and the whole to conclude with the "very amusing and laughable afterpiece of *The Shoemakers of Bagdad.*" Throughout, "Ethiopian Minstrels" entertained on the side. There were no wild animal displays.[51] The scenes from Shakespeare were presented between the antics of the trick ponies, Black Diamond and Cincinnatus, and the feat of the Duplicate Ladders. We can be reasonably sure that Shakespeare performances by the travelling cir-

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50 *Davenport Gazette,* July 7, 1856. The announcement and program of H. M. Smith's Circus Company is reproduced on the inside back cover of the *Palimpsest,* XXXI (January, 1950), no. 1.

51 A point on word usage seems worth making here. The travelling tent companies devoted to equestrian acts, acrobatics, pantomimes, comedy, etc., were generally advertised as *circuses.* Companies that specialized in animal exhibits were more often called simply *menageries.* Rarely were the two types blended as they are so frequently today. An interesting note on this distinction was made by the editor of the *Davenport Gazette,* July 18, 1850. Speaking of Raymond's Menagery, he wrote: "The agent [of the company] informs us that there is no circus nor negro pantomime connected with it." A rarity was such a company as that of Herr Driesbach, advertised as a "circus and menagery"; *Davenport Gazette,* August 1, 1856.

cus companies were not common; this is the only instance of them that I have come upon in this area.[52]

On the other hand, they could not have been exactly rare either; at least, no one at this time considered the event sufficiently remarkable for comment. As one reflects upon this rather unusual instance of Shakespeare under the "Big Top," the circumstance brings to mind that great book about life on and along the Mississippi and perhaps throws a new light of appreciation and understanding upon it—Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn.*

Every reader of Twain will recall at once the famous soliloquy of Hamlet, "To be or not to be," as the Duke of "Bilgewater" taught it to "Louis XVII." It is a strange mingling from several of the plays, but it must have been wondrously impressive for all that, at least to an unlearned audience; and particularly impressive if they gave Shakespeare in the same spirit and manner that the Duke used in teaching it to the King. He "read over the parts in the most splendid spread-eagle way, prancing around and acting at the same time, to show how it had got to be done." Perhaps it is no coincidence that on the afternoon preceding the evening Shakespearean "revival" in the little "Arkansaw" town, Huck "dived" under a circus tent to see "a real bully circus." He describes the entrance parade of the performers as 'the splendidest sight that ever was . . . a powerful fine sight." Then followed a show of horsemanship which was interrupted by a drunkard who insisted on an opportunity to show his riding skill. And, of course, the sot ultimately sheds his rough outer clothing, and when he tops the horse in sober triumph he reveals himself "dressed the gaudiest and prettiest you ever saw," as one of the regular performers. From this account Huck feels no need of transition to: "that night we had *our* show"—the sketches from Shakespeare. The Duke and the King gave the balcony scene from *Romeo and Juliet,* the broad-sword conflict from *Richard III* (a piece that Smith's Circus Company also used), and Hamlet's soliloquy. Perhaps these performers with their "rip, rave, and grit" were not wholly imaginary after all, and so quite in keeping with Huck's tongue-in-cheek judgment of his creator: "He told the truth—mainly." Perhaps they were modelled upon some such circus Shakespeareans, not unlike those of Smith's Company, that Twain had seen and heard as a boy in Hannibal, Missouri.

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[52] For a brief but adequate summary of Shakespeare performances under rather crude circumstances in the early West, see Esther C. Dunn. *Shakespeare in America,* New York, 1939, pp. 175–204.

That the "Arkansaw lunkheads couldn't come up to Shakespeare" is not too surprising. "What they wanted was low comedy—and maybe something ruther worse than low comedy." The lunkheads were far more accustomed to the sights of the circus than they were to Shakespeare. Many of the early circuses were clearly disreputable, consisting of "scrawny animals, minstrel shows, and an occasional obscene act." (Remember the "Royal Nonesuch" that Huck tells about?). Their advertising was made up of "bold and false assertions of having 'over 250 men and horses' and other such base Imposition, Claptrap, and Humbug."[53] In the light of this, Smith's Company with its scenes from Shakespeare must have been a welcome change, appealing to a considerably higher level than the usual circus audience. Those who may have had their doubts about the performance were assured that "everything advertised will be performed."

If a history of the circus in the Middle West should ever be compiled and if the full story of the showboat is ever recounted, we shall see clearly the relationship of these two popular forms of entertainment, one to the other and to the early theater in this region. No history of the theater in middle America can be complete without a note on these marginal attractions which caused the people to leave their fields and shops and to desert the lecture halls—all to see the "show," circus or showboat, both of which were far closer to the great masses of people than the legitimate theater. An observer said almost a hundred years ago of circus performances, and his words apply equally as well to the showboats, they were "a kind of peoples' amusement, and as such they will draw crowds, and all the talk and moralizing in the world won't prevent it."[54] Both types of amusement deserve serious consideration in the history of the American scene.

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53 *Davenport Gazette*, July 25, 1850.
54 *Ibid.*, May 20, 1861.

Cadillac, Proprietor at Detroit

IV. Ottawa-Miami Brawl

Having maladministered Detroit for the Company of the Colony Cadillac, as we have seen, had gone with Laforest to Quebec to answer the many charges of the Company against him, and, incidentally, to spend some time in jail during November, 1704. The Paris government in the midst of Queen Anne's War was more anxious to keep Detroit as a defense post than a trading center and to keep the Western Indians together as allies against the Iroquois. Since trade was out of the question, the Company had been willing to relinquish its trade rights to Cadillac. The hard-pressed colonial administrators were willing to let Cadillac become proprietor. Once the papers were drawn, instead of returning to Detroit in early 1705, Cadillac delayed in Quebec, then in Montreal, until Vaudreuil ordered him to leave Montreal for Detroit, which he did on June 20, 1706.

Meanwhile, a brawl had happened at Detroit between the Miami and the Ottawa Indians, resulting in the slaying of Father De l'Halle and a French soldier, La Rivière. This was bound to be taken seriously by both the Quebec and Paris governments, for it might mean a possible division in the ranks of the Indian allies. Investigations, according to governmental procedure, had to be launched. The young blade really responsible for the disturbance was one M. de Bourgmont. Cadillac could be blamed because it happened when he should have been at his post. Daigremont, sent as a special investigator made his report, and so too did Cadillac. These will be studied in turn.

The sequence of events was as follows. The Miami had killed several Ottawa in 1704. The latter complained to Cadillac, who told them that it was all a mistake and that he would investigate. He assured them that they had no reason to be apprehensive in his absence, for Mme de Lamothe would stay in Detroit. Then he left and two months later his wife left. Alfonse Tonti then in charge could give no satisfaction and had to stand by watching a revolt brewing and the tribesmen becoming more and more truculent. In 1705 Cadillac, on the pretext of having business in Quebec, went there from Montreal and sent his Bourgmont to Detroit.[1]

[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1706, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec,* (RAPQ), 1939, 165.

Bourgmont promptly antagonized the Ottawa. He sent Quarante Sols to the Miami and Wea, who lived on the St. Joseph River, to tell them to make war on the Sioux. Quarante Sols took this opportunity to revenge himself on the Ottawa; he assured the Miami and Wea that Bourgmont's suggestion was simply a trick to get them all out west where they would be killed. He advised them to take up arms against the Ottawa instead.

News of Quarante Sol's advice was soon brought to Detroit by a Huron squaw whose life the Ottawa had saved. The most important braves at Detroit among the Ottawa held a council and decided to attack the Miami who lived nearby. Le Pesant, leader of the Ottawa, ordered his men to open hostilities. In the first skirmish they killed five Miami, but a sixth escaping to the French fort to arouse his tribesmen, was hotly pursued by the enraged Ottawa. When the Miami was safely inside the gates, Bourgmont ordered his men to fire on the advancing Ottawa. The Ottawa were not prepared to become involved with the French. But they seized Father De l'Halle, who was outside the fort completely unaware of what was going on. They brought him bound to their camp, but Jean Leblanc, one of their chiefs, released the father and sent him to the fort to ask the French to cease fire. While De L'Halle was on his way to the fort a relative of one of the slain Ottawa, "shot the Father as he was about to enter the fort, from which shot he instantly died." La Rivière, returning to the French fort from the Hurons was also slain by the Ottawa. Closing the gates, Bourgmont ordered fire and the French, Miami, and Huron killed thirty Ottawa men. Such is the account of Daigremont,[2] about which more will be said shortly.

For Bourgmont Cadillac back in Detroit had a defense. Answering Vaudreuil's letters of June 27 and July 3, 1706, the proprietor said that because Bourgmont was a "young man" he was unable to forsee, much less prevent what had taken place.[3] He prudently refrained from mentioning anything about Bourgmont taking his mistress with him to Detroit. In his next letter he praised Bourgmont's bravery and good conduct and urged the minister to recompense him,[4] but the various reports caused Pontchartrain to put the blame squarely on Bourgmont.[5] By 1708 Cadillac had radically changed

[2] Daigremont to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections and Researches*, (MPHS), Vol. 33, Lansing, 1904, 431 ff.

[3] Cadillac to Vaudreuil, August 27, 1706, MPHS, 33: 277.

[4] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 30, 1706, AC, C 11A, 24: 194v.

[5] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, June 30, 1707, AC, B 29: 103.

his opinion. "He complains much of the dissolute conduct of M. de Bourgmont, who has left the country."[6] In truth, Bourgmont had deserted[7] and was living in the woods like a savage.[8]

The account of Daigremont is confirmed by a letter of Vaudreuil written shortly after the event. According to this letter, as long as Tonti was in Detroit, all was quiet; but Bourgmont spoiled everything. Moreover, he should not have given the order to fire until Father De l'Halle and La Rivière were inside the fort. To say, continues Vaudreuil, that the Ottawa had deliberately fired upon the fort is simply not true. For according to Bourgmont himself and the soldiers who brought the news to Quebec, more than one hundred armed Ottawa had marched past the post two days previously. At that time the garrison was outside watching them go by and no insult was proferred. If the Ottawa had wanted to attack the fort, they could easily have done so then. Vaudreuil declares that he does not know what to do. He does not want to antagonize a whole nation and risk the life of Father Marest and some fifteen Frenchmen who are with him at Michilimackinac. The Hurons, he said, behaved much more shrewdly. They had long been waiting to take revenge on the Ottawa, and gladly seized the opportunity of this attack on the Miami. Vaudreuil also recommended that Le Pesant, the Ottawa chief, "who had been the sole moving cause of this war," should be punished and an example be made of him.[9] At the time of writing, he did not have all the details, which explains why he does not refer to Quarante Sols as the original cause of the whole disturbance.[10]

Cadillac's "explanation" of the affair, which is contained in a letter to the governor general, was annotated by Vaudreuil in the interests of accuracy. Cadillac said, for instance, that Father De l'Halle was first stabbed, and then shot three or four times; he also wished to make it appear that the Ottawa had been attacking the French "for forty or fifty days." This, Vaudreuil maintained, is false, for it was the Hurons and the Miami who had been doing the fighting. Cadillac's accusations that Tonti had "two large forts" built, and that he had sold gunpowder to the Indians, was dismissed

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6 Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1708, MPHS, 33: 393.

7 Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 5, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 438.

8 Daigremont to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, MPHS, 33: 441. Cf. M. de Villiers du Terrage, *La découverte du Missouri et l'histoire du Fort d'Orléans, 1673–1728* (Paris, 1925), 41–44.

9 Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1706, RAPQ, 1939, 164 ff.

10 Speech of Miscouaky, chief of the Ottawa, to Vaudreuil, September 26, 1706, MPHS, 33: 288 ff. Vaudreuil learned further details from this speech.

by Vaudreuil as a malicious statement. Tonti had to sell the powder to prevent the Indians from going to the English. Cadillac also blamed Tonti for having reduced the garrison of the fort to only fifteen men. The man to be blamed was Bourgmont, who had sent away the servants of the Company. The soldiers had been taken by Tonti as a needed escort on his journey to Montreal. It must also be remembered that when Bourgmont went to Detroit, Cadillac had ordered him to take away from Tonti the command of the post.

As might have been expected, Cadillac found a way of blaming the Jesuits for this episode.

> Nor did I fail to admire the zeal of Father Marest in hastening with so much eagerness to Michilimackinac, accompanied by only four boats, at a time when he was informed that the Ottawa had besieged the fort at Detroit and that the Recollect Father had been cruelly assassinated. His only possible motive must have been to dispute with him the crown of martyrdom."

Cadillac finds the return of Father Marest to Michilimackinac very peculiar, especially since he had abandoned that mission the previous year after setting the house and the chapel on fire. Vaudreuil comments on this passage of the letter as follows: "What M. de Lamothe writes concerning the departure of Father Marest for Michilimackinac is no less malicious than the rest of his writings."

Cadillac's letter also declared that notwithstanding Vaudreuil's prohibition of carrying powder to Michilimackinac, one hundred Mississagua came to Detroit well armed and supplied with powder. Perhaps, he said, the Mississagua had come to help the Ottawa and assist them to return to Michilimackinac; but when they saw the fort of the Ottawa had been burned, they realized that they would have to parley. "Father Marest and Maurice [Mesnard] acted very inopportunely and gave bad advice to these poor people, who would have fallen victims to their passions if I had not set matters right."[11] We are not told how he "set matters right," nor how he knew that the Indians came to Detroit well supplied with gunpowder.

Fortunately, we are able to test the truth of this account by comparing it with other contemporary evidence. Marest wrote to Vaudreuil from Topikanich, telling the governor that he feared to return to Michilimackinac, because of the high feeling among the Indians there. At Topikanich, he and his companions met an Ottawa chief bent on avenging the death of his brother who had been

[11] Cadillac to Vaudreuil, August 27, 1706, MPHS, 33: 272 ff. Vaudreuil's annotations are in the margin.

slain at Detroit, but they persuaded him to return with his men to Michilimackinac. Another party of one hundred and sixty strong, that had set out for Detroit to take revenge on the Miami expressed its determination to make things very difficult for the Frenchmen at Michilimackinac, if the Frenchmen at Detroit interferred with the punitive expedition. Marest asked that the traders who were with him be compensated for their losses: "They have already been deprived of the very great profit they might have made, when, thanks to the ingenuity of M. de Lamothe, they were compelled to send back [to Montreal] their lead and powder."[12] Marest is glad that he was not at Michilimackinac when the Ottawa had left for Detroit, for he would have been unable to stop them, and M. de Lamothe would have blamed him for their departure.

Marest had also heard that a party of one hundred Indians was on its way to Detroit, "but they did not appear at Topikanich while we were there. Hence M. de Lamothe should not take it ill if we did not stop them." Vaudreuil wrote in the margin: "This paragraph shows that M. de Lamothe's accusation that Father Marest and Mesnard gave powder to the hundred Indians is false, since they did not even see them." Marest goes on to say that it was up to Cadillac to stop the Indians, for several of their chiefs were with him at Detroit. "The people of Topikanich begged me to bear witness to M. de Lamothe that they had not insulted us in any way." Marest accordingly overcame his reluctance to have any dealing with Cadillac, to the extent of acceding to this request and asking him to look after the safety of the Jesuits among the Miami on the St. Joseph River.[13]

Two weeks later, Marest wrote again to Vaudreuil. Some of the Ottawa, he said, arrived at Michilimackinac on August 23, and told him that they had not gone to Detroit to fight, but to help their fellow tribesmen withdraw from Cadillac's "paradise." They also said that there had been one more fight between the Ottawa and the French, Hurons and Miami; that the Miami had taken control of the French fort, where they were plundering everything; that the surrounding fields had been laid waste, and that Quarante Sols was the initial cause of the trouble.[14]

Meanwhile, Cadillac let it be known at Detroit that he was making plans to shoot "Le Pesant and three or four others." Le

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[12] Cf. Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 3, 1706, RAPQ, 1939, 141 f.
[13] Marest to Vaudreuil, August 14, 1706, MPHS, 33: 263 ff.
[14] *Id.* to *id.*, August 27, 1706, *ibid.*, 269 ff.

Pesant, however, had already departed for Michilimackinac, and Cadillac temporarily relieved his feelings by the following comment: "Le Pesant is an old man, and his missionary [Marest] will pray for him after his death, and give him absolution if he asks for it."[15]

Three days after writing to the governor, Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain, giving an account of the Ottawa affair, which teems with falsehoods. In his annotations to Cadillac's letter of August 27, 1706, Vaudreuil said: "Sieur de Lamothe is so much in the habit of stating what is untrue, that it is almost impossible for him to write otherwise."[16] His original letter is lost and we have only an abstract of it. The abstract begins by saying that all the trouble was clearly intended so that Detroit would be ruined. The Ottawa have always been faithful to the French. "When they were asked why they had thus attacked the French Fort, they gave as an excuse that they had followed the orders of M. de Vaudreuil." In the margin of the abstract, Pontchartrain wrote one single word: "False."

Elsewhere in this letter Cadillac says: "It seems that sieur de Vaudreuil was quite undisturbed about the Ottawa, for he sent Father Marest to Michilimackinac accompanied by twelve Frenchmen loaded with merchandise. The men were able to trade peacefully with the Indians, while Detroit was in a state of blockade." He said he had brought two hundred and sixteen persons to Detroit, including twenty-eight families, horses and cattle. We have already seen how many families he had brought to Detroit in 1706.[17] "He has even had great ships ascending the portage of Niagara, a feat which was regarded as impossible in Montreal." We do not know whether by "the portage of Niagara" he means the falls. His reference to "great ships" suggests that he does; if so, Cadillac was certainly a most remarkable man. All the nations of the Great Lakes region, he says, will soon be at Detroit; he is still asking that Detroit be erected into an independent province, with right of appeal from all judgments passed by Raudot, "who looks upon Cadillac as his enemy." He finally wishes that a hospital be begun at Detroit with brothers to take care of the sick.[18]

Cadillac had already left Montreal when Vaudreuil and Raudot,

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15 Cadillac to Vaudreuil, August 27, 1706, *ibid.*, 282.
16 *Ibid.*, 283.
17 MID-AMERICA, July, 1950, 188 n.
18 Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 30, 1706, AC, C 11A, 24: 191v–195v, 200–203.

fearing lest the Detroit affair would have repercussions on the Iroquois, sent him a special message to hurry to his post. At the same time they warned Joncaire, who was among the Iroquois, and told him that the Hurons were trying to stir up the Iroquois against the Ottawa.[19] Cadillac, unfortunately, cooperated with the Hurons in this regard. On his way to Detroit, he stopped just long enough to make an impassioned speech to the Iroquois Indians in the Seneca country, the gist of which was: I am dead, but dead though I am, I will take revenge on the Ottawa. If you want to see what will happen, come with me to Detroit. These words moved one hundred and twenty braves to respond to the appeal of the *foudre de guerre*.[20]

While Vaudreuil was thus trying to keep peace in the Northwest and obtain satisfaction from the Ottawa, Cadillac sent Boucherville[21] to the Miami who lived on the River St. Joseph.[22] Speaking for Cadillac, Boucherville told them to come and establish themselves on the Detroit River, across from the French fort, and he promised that one of Cadillac's own sons would come to live with them, "that he may learn their language." They should not listen, he told them, to anyone but Cadillac. "If the Black Robes speak to you or put words into your mouth, pay no attention to them. They are competent to speak only about prayers, and have nothing to say in matters of consequence." This was Cadillac's way of responding to Marest's request about ensuring the safety of the Jesuits among the Miami. If belts were being brought to them, the spokesman continued, they should not accept them, but wait until they had conferred with Cadillac before giving an answer.

> Mistrust the Ottawa. Listen to me alone; I shall be able to make peace, and, if need be, I shall wage war even better. Trust me and distrust the Potawatomi and the Sauk who are the allies of the Ottawa.[23]

Thus, while everybody in Canada was working to secure peace, Cadillac was adopting a bellicose attitude. Besides stirring up the Iroquois, and fomenting the discontent already rife among the Ot-

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[19] Cadillac says that Joncaire had received a letter from Vaudreuil, "pour leur [Iroquois] deffendre de luy [Cadillac] donner main forte." *Ibid.*, 193.

[20] Speeches of the Seneca to Vaudreuil, August 23, 1706, MPHS, 33: 287.

[21] This man was leaving Detroit to be with his father, Pierre Boucher, who was "ninety-seven" (*i.e.*, eighty-eight) years old. Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 30, 1706, AC, C 11A, 24: 202.

[22] See the itemized account of expenses for this "embassy," MPHS, 33: 296 f.

[23] Parolles de M. de Lamothe que M. de Boucharville fera dire aux Miami en general, November 14, 1706, AC, C 11A, 24: 365–365v. This was sent to the minister by the two Raudots in 1709, MPHS, 33: 463.

tawa, he sends a spokesman to sow feelings of distrust among the Miami. This is the man whom Margry presents as a great colonial! Although Margry had at his disposal all the materials which we have thus far analyzed, he was careful to omit all the discreditable details that we have called to the attention of the reader; and in his long introduction to the fifth volume of his compilation, he praised Cadillac as an outstandingly able administrator. The truth is that perhaps the outstanding characteristic of Cadillac was his stupidity. The uncritical repetitions of Margry's views by later "historians," have resulted in the widespread acceptance of the Cadillac legend.

The answers to the letters sent to France from Canada in 1706 reached the colony by the following autumn. The king's instructions to Vaudreuil and Raudot insist on the necessity of their coming to an understanding with Cadillac and of settling the disturbance among the Ottawa. He repeats once more the obligations which Cadillac had taken upon himself with regard to the pay of the soldiers, the two interpreters, the surgeon, the chaplain, and the missionary at Detroit. All these expenses are to be borne by Cadillac and he must also pay for the rebuilding of the chapel. The point which the king stresses most is the complete eradication of the brandy trade. This "abuse", he says, is attributable only to sieur de Lamothe, for he took along with him a great number of barrels, and his agent in Quebec wrote to his agent in Montreal that anyone who asked permission to go to Detroit should be allowed to do so on condition of bringing along 300 livres weight of brandy. In order to obtain full knowledge of the fact, the king is sending Daigremont to inspect the various posts in the Northwest.[24]

Vaudreuil also received a letter from Pontchartrain, informing him that the king recommends Cadillac to carry out all of Vaudreuil's orders which pertain to His Majesty's service, "and to have for you all the respect and consideration due to your character as governor general. If he forgets himself, His Majesty will know how to deal with him and will even punish him severely."[25]

Another letter from Pontchartrain was addressed to Cadillac himself. After saying that he is glad that Cadillac has finally got to Detroit, and that Vaudreuil should not take any action about the Ottawa without first consulting with him, he goes on to say that both Vaudreuil and Raudot have complained that Cadillac is insub-

[24] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, June 30, 1707, RAPQ, 1940, 358 f.

[25] Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, June 30, 1707, *ibid.*, 372.

ordinate, and he warns him that the king will take appropriate measures unless he changes his ways. "I hope to receive by the next mail a detailed account of what has taken place at Detroit. What I have received from you thus far contains nothing but useless and tedious repetitions with regard to the alleged treacherous attempts of MM. de Vaudreuil and Raudot to ruin your project." Pontchartrain is also very glad that Mme de Lamothe is taking care of the sick, and says that he would be pleased if the Hospitallers of Montreal could be persuaded to come to Detroit, "but His Majesty is unwilling to pay these brothers more at Detroit than they are actually getting at Montreal."[26] It may be noted that thereafter Cadillac made no further reference to the securing of brothers for Detroit.

V. "Absolute Master"

In the summer following the disturbance at Detroit, June 1707, the Ottawa from Michilimackinac came to Montreal to hold long palavers with Vaudreuil. An account of these was sent to Pontchartrain by the governor general in the form of a detailed record which he himself had made of the speeches of Jean Leblanc, the Ottawa spokesman. The annotations which Cadillac appended to these speeches and Vaudreuil's own comments should have enabled Pontchartrain to form a very accurate idea of what was going on. As one would expect, Cadillac's annotations are full of the tedious repetitions to which the minister had objected: Father De l'Halle had been "stabbed three times" in his garden; everything that Jean Leblanc said "has been suggested to him; it is still the old refrain—the re-establishment of Michilimackinac and of the *congés.*" Leblanc's offer to hand over two slaves in reparation for the death of De l'Halle,[27] and his statement that he was prepared to give himself up if this reparation were not sufficient, "were put into his mouth." Cadillac also protested against any reference to the treachery of the Hurons and especially of Quarante Sols: "The Hurons generously took up our quarrel and without them the French fort would have been taken." He insisted that Le Pesant be put to death by the

[26] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, June 30, 1707, AC, B 29: 102–103, and 105. In another letter, written two weeks later, the minister told Cadillac that all his memoirs concerning the expenses at Detroit were a sheer waste of time. He must pay what the Company of the colony was paying. AC, B, 29: 127–128.

[27] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, July 24, 1707, RAPQ, 1940, 381.

Ottawa themselves. As for Leblanc's objection that it was impossible to have Le Pesant put to death, because he had many allies and friends among his tribe, and it was feared that they would take up his defense, Cadillac brushed it aside with the comment that Le Pesant should be shot by the Ottawa.[28]

Cadillac's "observations" on a second speech which Jean Leblanc made on June 23, are equally irrelevant. At one point Leblanc had declared that he intended to return to Detroit with the Ottawa and to go from there to Michilimackinac "to make smooth the old road." Cadillac annotated this: "The road of which he speaks is really the road from Michilimackinac to Montreal. This must have pleased M. de Vaudreuil, for his plan is to remove the Ottawa from Detroit." This last remark is surprising for two reasons: first, because of the uncomplimentary reference to Vaudreuil himself in a note which he was sure to see; and second, because the removal of the Ottawa from Detroit would save Cadillac the trouble of dealing further with these malcontents. It is clear that he was mainly interested in having as many Indians as possible congregated at Detroit. Jean Leblanc also said that the governor's decision about the fate of Le Pesant was being anxiously awaited by many other tribes who were allied to the Ottawa, such as the Sauk, the Mascoutens, the Kickapoo, the Foxes and the Potawatomi. On this Cadillac remarked: "He is an impudent liar. M. de Lamothe has detached all these tribes from the Ottawa; they will not meddle with their affairs."[29] The impudent liar here is Cadillac himself, for he was quite well aware that these tribes were still strong allies of the Ottawa.

These annotated speeches were sent to Pontchartrain from Quebec along with two letters; one written jointly by Vaudreuil and the two Raudots, the other by Vaudreuil himself. The joint letter informs Pontchartrain that the Ottawa should go to Detroit and arrange matters with M. de Lamothe.[30] Vaudreuil's own letter to Pontchartrain, however, declares that Jean Leblanc has shown how impossible it was to hand over Le Pesant, because he was related to many Indians who would be determined to avenge his death. This being so, the only real solution of the difficulty is to accept Leblanc's offer to give himself up instead of having Le Pesant killed.

[28] Speeches of the Ottawa, June 18, 1707, with the replies of Vaudreuil, June 20, 1707, MPHS, 33: 319–326. Cadillac's annotations are in the margin.

[29] Speeches of Jean Leblanc to Vaudreuil, June 23, 1707, *ibid.*, 327 f.

[30] Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, July 16, 1707, RAPQ, 1940, 378 f.

Vaudreuil added that he could have settled the whole matter himself, but he preferred to give credit to Sieur de Lamothe,

> so that it will be easier for him to promote his establishment, because I want you to know, my Lord, that when there is question of the king's service, I do not consider my own advantage. I know, however, that sieur de Lamothe had often behaved badly toward me.[31]

Following Vaudreuil's advice, the Indians went to Detroit, where a council was held with Cadillac on August 6, in which Jean Leblanc and other Ottawa chiefs took part. Cadillac, swollen with his own importance, insisted on having Le Pesant handed over to himself. He added: "I wish him to be in my power, and I shall either grant him his life or put him to death."[32] Meekly Jean Leblanc acquiesced; but the great Cadillac, as the sequel will show, never intended that any harm should befall Le Pesant. When the chief was finally brought to Detroit on September 24, Cadillac greeted him with these words: "Here you are, Le Pesant, before your father and your master. Is this the great chief who had so many connections and was so highly esteemed?" There is much more in that vein. Since the ten Ottawa who formed Le Pesant's escort were not chiefs, they had no right to speak on behalf of their tribe. They began to talk about returning to their friends, and they told Cadillac that the Black Robe at Michilimackinac [Marest] had dissuaded them from coming to Detroit later on.[33]

On October 1, Cadillac wrote a tendentious letter to Vaudreuil,[34] which the governor general sent to Pontchartrain and commented on its contents in a separate letter of his own. At one place in this letter Cadillac declares that he was writing to Vaudreuil exactly as he had written to Frontenac and Callières. On this Vaudreuil notes:

> I can tell you, my Lord, that if he had had the effrontery to make use of the expressions with which, for a year past, he has filled all his letters to me, Frontenac and Callières would certainly have brought him to his senses. And I should certainly have done so too, had not my knowledge of the favor which you have been pleased to show him, held me back.

The truth is that Pontchartrain had been deceived—willingly deceived—into trusting Cadillac, or as Tremblay put it, he was glad to have someone in Canada who would spy on the others.

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31 Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, July 24, 1707, *ibid.*, 380 ff.
32 Council held at Detroit on August 6, 1707, MPHS, 33: 331 f.
33 Speeches of the Ottawa to Cadillac, September 24, 1707, *ibid.*, 347 ff.
34 Cadillac to Vaudreuil, October 1, 1707, *ibid.*, 350–353.

In this letter, Vaudreuil also refers to the Le Pesant incident. What he says serves to correct the report which Cadillac had sent to Pontchartrain, describing his reception of Le Pesant and the latter's escape. It is quite true, says Vaudreuil, that D'Argenteuil, the lieutenant sent by Cadillac,[35] had been dispatched to Michilimackinac to bring the chief to Detroit, "with an escort of ten Ottawa for the greater security" of Le Pesant. These ten men belonged to Le Pesant's family and came to Detroit to see that the promise of D'Argenteuil would be kept, namely, that no harm would come to the chief. A few days later Le Pesant escaped, because Cadillac did not dare to put him to death nor keep him in the fort. That a man of seventy years of age, bulky and corpulent as Le Pesant—hence his name—could have escaped over a palisade, in a fort provided with sentinels, is most improbable. It is much more likely that Cadillac helped him to escape, for he was glad to get rid of him, and he wanted to humor the ten armed Ottawa of Le Pesant's escort. Vaudreuil concluded by saying that whether Le Pesant returns to Michilimackinac or perishes on the way is a matter of indifference to Cadillac, for he had declared to the Ottawa that if he had stayed, he would have pardoned him.[36]

Vaudreuil also said that "Cadillac makes the Indians say things which have no appearance of truth and which they cannot have said." And after declaring that it is not just for a man like Cadillac to be allowed to poison the mind of the minister out of sheer malice, he continues in another letter to Pontchartrain:

> What he makes the Indians say in council against Father Marest is so false and so easy to refute that I feel bound to do justice to the missionary by assuring you of the contrary.[37] What Cadillac himself said in the same council against that Father is detrimental not only to the king's service, but also to religion; for it destroys in the minds of the Indians any confidence which they may have in their missionary. It is of the utmost consequence, my Lord, that sieur de Lamothe be much more restrained in speaking of the Jesuit missionaries.[38]

Cadillac's lack of restraint against the Jesuits expressed itself in actions as well as in words. His account of this incident is in one of three letters which were abridged by some clerk and annotated by Pontchartrain. After attributing to himself alone the peace concluded with the Ottawa, he goes on to say:

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[35] On this man's family, cf. August 27, 1706, AC, C 11A, 24: 208v.
[36] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, observations on Cadillac's letter of October 1, 1707, MPHS, 33: 354 f.
[37] Cf. Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 8, [1707], *ibid.*, 368 f.
[38] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 12, 1707, RAPQ, 1940, 386.

He has induced the Miami Indians, who number 400 warriors and who lived a long way from Detroit, to come and settle at the Maurepas River which is only twelve leagues away.[39] It is the finest land under heaven; fishing and hunting are abundant there.

The Jesuit who was acting as missionary among the Miami did all he could to prevent them from taking this step and would not follow them; it was therefore necessary to give this mission to a Recollect who will fill this post very well.[40]

From this we see that, besides meddling with governmental affairs that were beyond his jurisdiction, Cadillac took it upon himself to appoint a Recollect to a mission which had been in the hands of the Jesuits for the past thirty years. Pontchartrain wrote in the margin of this abridgement: "Bad, very bad. He is not permitted to remove missionaries or to send others to their place. It belongs to the superior to do so."

This high-handed procedure was criticized in a letter which Vaudreuil and the two Raudots wrote to Paris: "They have the honor of telling you, my Lord, that he is playing the part of an absolute master at Detroit, as can be seen from the letter which he wrote to Father Marest and the order which he gave to Father Aveneau."[41] Father Silvy thus explained the whole situation to the General at Rome at this time:

The far away missions among the Ottawa and the Illinois [i.e., Miami] have been troubled recently less by war than by the persecution of an enraged enemy of our Fathers. By the favor of the king, or rather by the favor of the minister [Pontchartrain], this man has established a fort where he rules over a colony of Frenchmen on the strait of Lake Huron. He has left no stone unturned to annoy our Fathers, by spreading lies (of which he is a master) and by secret calumnies. Now he wishes to take away from us the missions of those regions and to transfer them to the Franciscans [Recollects]. Father Aveneau, who for the past seventeen years has been in charge of this Illinois [Miami] mission, was abruptly sent back to his superiors, and a Recollect Father took his place. The name of the mission was changed from St. Francis Xavier into that of St. Francis of Assisi. Father Aveneau therefore came to Quebec with whatever provisions he could gather and he is now asking for redress against this action, which, God willing, we will not let pass. We hope that when the pious and just king hears of what has happened, he will not tolerate this laying of an

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[39] No contemporary map shows a "Maurepas River"; Cadillac probably means the Maumee.

[40] Summary of Cadillac's letters to Pontchartrain, September 10, 15, and October 1, 1707, MPHS, 33: 338.

[41] Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 15, 1707, RAPQ, 1940, 391. Pontchartrain's annotation reads: "He [Cadillac] and the Jesuits do not get [along] together; they must give way." MPHS, 33: 344.

insolent and profane hand on the missions nor the usurpation of spiritual powers, and will see to it that our possessions be given back to us and the injustice repaired.[42]

If Cadillac imagined that this last abuse of authority was to pass unnoticed in Paris, he was soon to learn differently. There is in the French archives an abstract from a memoir which the Jesuits of Canada sent to France explaining what had taken place.[43] While commenting on this document, we shall also refer to the annotations added to it by Pontchartrain.

They [the Jesuits] complain that sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, who is at present commandant at Detroit, is violently enraged against them,[44] and does all he can to render them odious both to the French and to the Indians. The said sieur de Lamothe proclaims widely that he will not allow any of them in the territory of his commandantship.

This territory was restricted to Detroit and the immediately surrounding country. It was in order to bring the Miami under his jurisdiction that he persuaded them to move from the St. Joseph River to a spot twelve leagues from Detroit. Pontchartrain wrote one word in the margin: "Forbid."

"He has taken away from one of their Fathers [Aveneau] the Miami mission, which had always belonged to the Jesuits, and has given it to the Recollects. He said that he was authorized by His Majesty to do so." Pontchartrain wrote: "Bad. Reinstate." The memoir of the Jesuits continues: "When that Father represented to him that only the bishop could make such changes and that he would stay until word came from Quebec, the said Sieur de Lamothe replied that he would prevent him from returning to his mission, and signed an order commanding him to go elsewhere." From this it appears that Father Aveneau went to Detroit of his own accord to expostulate with Cadillac about the transfer of the Indians. It is also apparent that the latter had no authority whatever over anybody in the Northwest, except over the few people at Detroit. For if, as he had so often asserted, he was the commandant of the Jesuits at Michilimackinac, he could and would have sent them away also.

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[42] Silvy to Tamburini, November 14, 1707, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, II, 276.

[43] Les Jesuites de Canada [to Pontchartrain], [November, 1707], AC, C 11A, 29: 98–98v.

[44] In his letter to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, Louis XIV (June 6, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 409) used the same word, "dechaisné." This was nothing new, he had been "dechaisné" against everybody ever since he set foot in America.

They represent that His Majesty has permitted them to establish themselves anywhere in Canada to preach the Gospel,[45] with orders to commanding officers to help them in their missions. It is very hard that, after sacrificing themselves in order to teach the Indians and subject them to France, they should be deprived of the results of their labor, in favor of the Recollects who do not know the language of these [Miami] Indians. Sieur de Lamothe also said that he will make use of the king's authority of which he is the sole depositary in Canada.

We have already pointed out that Cadillac was inclined to invoke the king's authority for anything that passed through his head. All these abuses of power, which today would be incomprehensible, were possible then because of the delay in communications between the colony and the mother country. It took a year to get an answer to all mail sent to France. Very often the minister had to ask for additional explanations, and when the final decision came, the affair would be two years old. Pontchartrain wrote in the margin, next to the passage concerning the king's authority: "Self-love." The mildness of this comment, and of many others made by Pontchartrain on Cadillac's letters, is rather surprising. It is strange that he should have hesitated to tell him directly what he had so often written to Vaudreuil; namely that Vaudreuil and not Cadillac was the sole depositary of the king's authority in New France.

The Jesuits also say that this officer is bold and aggressive, and that he thinks his authority is unlimited. He is always acting without waiting for authorization. He also declared that he is the master of the Jesuits, that he will ship them to France whenever he thinks fit, to explain their actions to the Court.

They beg not to be left at the mercy of this commandant, who thinks he can do whatever he pleases, and openly displays his animosity against them everywhere.

Pontchartrain annotated the last paragraph as follows: "They cannot help being under him as long as they are there. Let them go elsewhere." In fact, the Jesuits were never under Cadillac's jurisdiction, for they had consistently refused to go to Detroit.

They [the Jesuits] also beg to be reinstated in the Miami mission and in others of which sieur de Lamothe has deprived them. They ask that he be ordered to let them run their missions as they see fit when they are within the limits of his command, and not to interfere with them as he has done thus far.

Pontchartrain's note on this last passage is very puzzling indeed: "Good, docile, under Lamothe." The Miami mission was never

[45] Pontchartrain's note at this place says: "This is not settled." The legal status of the missions had nothing to do with Cadillac's interference.

"under Lamothe." As we have seen, his reason for moving it was precisely to bring it under his jurisdiction. Pontchartrain's idea that the Jesuits or anybody else would or even could be "docile" under Lamothe, indicated that his optimism exceeded his good judgment.

As a matter of fact, Cadillac never succeeded in prevailing on the Miami to move from the St. Joseph River to the "Rivière Morepas," and no Recollect was sent to replace the Jesuits in this mission.[46] The Jesuit Mermet, who had been helping Aveneau at the St. Joseph River, left for the Juchereau tannery near the mouth of the Ohio in 1702. In or about 1705, Mermet's place was taken by Father Chardon, who had been in charge of the Potawatomi living on the left bank of the St. Joseph River; at the time of Aveneau's departure, however, Chardon and his Indians do not seem to have been there. At any rate, Chardon was on the St. Joseph River in 1708, for he wrote from there to Vaudreuil telling the governor general that in the preceding autumn he had returned to his old place. The Potawatomi Indians, he said, wanted to go to Detroit to trade here, but news had reached them that "some band of Miami, whom M. de Lamothe had persuaded to settle near him, had killed several of their men and a Potawatomi woman." On hearing this they held a council and asked Chardon to write to Vaudreuil for a commandant and soldiers to be stationed in their village on the St. Joseph River, as well as for some merchandise, for they wanted to trade and were destitute of everything.[47]

In the following month, Marest sent Vaudreuil an account of the situation in the West. Le Pesant, he said, had returned from Detroit to Michilimackinac, but intended to go back to Detroit with all his Ottawa. This decision had been brought about by the persuasions of Ouakesson, who had been sent by Cadillac with the party that had come to bring Le Pesant to Detroit and had remained there to influence the Ottawa in favor of Cadillac's proposal. Marest said that no letter from Cadillac had been sent to him, for Ouakesson claimed that he was a "living letter." In spite of his eloquence, he met with unexpected resistance on the part of his own tribe. Marest himself was expecting a second missionary whom he could send to Detroit with the Ottawa. When the time for wintering came (1707), the Ottawa split into two groups. Those who were to go to Detroit wintered at Saginaw, and the others spent the winter at Green Bay.

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[46] Cf. G. Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 17 (1930–1931): 33 f.

[47] Chardon to Vaudreuil, May 6, 1708, AC, C 11A, 28: 161.

While the Ottawa were thus divided, the Miami attacked them and carried off the daughter-in-law of a chief and three children. They also captured five Ottawa at Saginaw, and news was spread about that the Miami had killed three Frenchmen from Detroit. Thereupon D'Argenteuil went to Saginaw, rounded up the Ottawa there, and enticed them to wage war on the Miami. Five or six boatloads of Ottawa, however, went to Michilimackinac instead of to Detroit, reasoning that if there was to be war, it would be best to put their women and children in safety. The Miami had attacked the Ottawa because of their anger at Cadillac's weakness. He had promised them that he would put Le Pesant to death. Instead, as we have seen, he not only spared Le Pesant's life, but had invited him and his tribe to settle at Detroit.

All these rumors and movements made Marest apprehensive for the safety of Father Chardon and Brother Harent, who were alone among the Miami of the St. Joseph River. The Potawatomi, he says, are resolved to stay there, but he fears that when they learn that the Miami have killed Frenchmen, there will be some unforeseeable developments. "It is unfortunate that a nation [the Miami] which has always been friendly to the French should have turned against them."

While Marest was writing this letter, two men came to Michilimackinac with a letter from Father Chardon. The latter wrote that the Potawatomi at the St. Joseph River were planning to live with the Miami on the Wabash and wanted to know how many Ottawa had been killed or taken prisoners by the Miami, so that they might rescue the prisoners with the help of those Miami who were their allies.

Just before Marest concluded his letter, two Ottawa Indian chiefs came with further news which they wanted Marest to send to Vaudreuil. Last winter, they said, Cadillac had sent a wampum belt to the Ottawa who were wintering at Saginaw, with an official announcement that he was closing the Ottawa River to them. By means of this action, he hoped to compel them to move to Detroit; for the same reason he threatened them with smallpox, but some Indians wondered why, if he had control over this disease, he did not launch it against the Miami who had attacked him. When D'Argenteuil went to Saginaw to round up the Indians, he asked one of the Indians to take a letter to Sakima. When the Indian refused, D'Argenteuil told him to come to Detroit as soon as pos-

sible, "else one hundred soldiers would be sent and take me [Marest] by force."[48]

The outcome of Cadillac's "politique indigène," then, was that the Ottawa affair was followed by the Miami affair. So intent was he on breaking up the Jesuit mission at Michilimackinac that he was willing to risk a war with all the Indians in the West. The Miami were altogether uninterested in his scheme of gathering droves of Indians around Detroit; and Cadillac was completely unaware that their stand against the Ottawa was due to their being supported by the Iroquois.

In 1708, the Ottawa of Michilimackinac again went to Montreal and re-asserted their unwillingness to go to Detroit. "Cadillac ought to be content with having divided our village. Let those go to Detroit who wish to do so. As for us, who have been living at Michilimackinac, why does he not leave us there in peace?" They are willing to trade with their fellow tribesmen at Detroit, but will not go there themselves. Vaudreuil was in a quandary. He had received no news from Cadillac, and when he heard from the Michilimackinac Ottawa that Cadillac had threatened to block the great river to prevent them from traveling to Montreal, he told the Indians that he did not understand what they meant, and declared that they must have been misinformed.[49]

In 1708 also, the answer to the various letters sent in 1707 arrived in Canada. In his answer to Vaudreuil's and Raudot's joint letter of 1707, Louis XIV begins by approving the governor general's conduct in the Ottawa affair, and tells the two officials that Daigremont is being sent to make a report on the condition of the various posts which he is to inspect. As for Cadillac's expenses, a distinction must be made: he is to repay the Company for all expenses which they have incurred; and as for his presents to the Indians, the missionary at Detroit must sign an itemized list of these presents.[50] Otherwise, Cadillac will not be reimbursed. He also asks for further details about the "bureau" which Cadillac had opened at Detroit for the sale of brandy, and commends Vaudreuil and Raudot for having promulgated a new regulation for the brandy

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[48] Marest to Vaudreuil, June 4, 1708, AC, C 11A, 28: 165–173v. This letter is translated in MPHS, 33: 383–387, but several paragraphs are omitted.

[49] Speech of the Ottawa of Michilimackinac, July 23, 1708, with Vaudreuil's answer, MPHS, 33: 388 f.

[50] See MPHS, 33: 296 f, and 314, for similar itemized accounts of expenses endorsed by the missionary at Fort Pontchartrain.

trade, which they must see that Cadillac carries out.[51] He also wants to know why Cadillac is selling land in the enclosure of the Detroit fort, and why he is forcing tradesmen to give him a certain sum of money before he will let them conduct any business there. After recalling what Cadillac has done with regard to the Miami mission, the king continues:

> His Majesty has had a strong letter written to him, in which he observes that only the Bishop of Quebec or his vicar-general are qualified to deal with matters pertaining to the missions. His Majesty has also written that, since the Jesuits have permission to establish themselves anywhere they wish in Canada to preach the Gospel, he is desirous that they be allowed to conduct their missions as they see fit, and he wants Cadillac to give those who are in his territory all the protection they may ask of him.[52]

This indicates the extent of Cadillac's "authority" to move the missionaries about and to replace them by others. But, of course, relying on the support of Pontchartrain, he considered himself supreme.

In a letter to the elder Raudot which reached Canada at the same time, Pontchartrain said that, according to Cadillac, Raudot was taking sides with M. de Vaudreuil, and was speaking disparagingly of Cadillac; further, that although a Frenchman who had set fire to Detroit in 1703 had finally been apprehended at Quebec, no punishment had been imposed upon him.[53] After remarking that he was trying to make things difficult for Cadillac, the minister continues:

> I am persuaded that all he said on this matter is exaggerated. However, I must tell you that from all quarters news comes to me of your highly improper fits of anger. I beg you to consider the harm which this may cause you in the mind of His Majesty if it comes to his notice.[54]

Pontchartrain's comments on Raudot's failure to punish the Frenchman who was accused of setting fire to Detroit are typical of his over-credulous attitude toward Cadillac's reports. This attitude

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[51] The regulation issued on May 6, 1702, was reiterated on June 30, 1707, AC, B 29: 101.

[52] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, June 6, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 409.

[53] All of this is false. Jacques Campeau had accused Pierre Rocquant *dit* La Ville of having set fire to the granary at Detroit in 1703; but when confronted with Rocquant, Campeau said "que le feu auoit esté mis a la grange du fort de Pontchartrain par Vn Sauuage Loup." *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, 5: 460. Pontchartrain, who had probably not read the account of the trial, wrote to the two Raudots that Rocquant was guilty and that Campeau had been wrongly condemned to pay 300 livres damages. Pontchartrain to the Raudots, June 6, 1708, AC, B 29: 311v. Cf. also Tonti to Pontchartrain, April 16, 1708, AC, C 11A, 29: 215.

[54] Pontchartrain to Jacques Raudot, June 6, 1708, AC, B 29: 369.

is abundantly illustrated in the letters which he sent on the same day to Vaudreuil, to the Jesuits of Canada, and to Cadillac himself. It is worth nothing that Pontchartrain's letters were not written by himself, nor did he read the original letters to which he replies. A résumé of the letters from Canada was prepared for him, and he merely made annotations in the margin of the résumé, from which a clerk in Paris elaborated a complete answer.

Pontchartrain's letter to Vaudreuil begins by saying that to the governor alone is due the credit for the settlement of the Ottawa affair. He need have no misgivings that Cadillac may try to give himself credit in the eyes of the Indians for this peace, because Pontchartrain himself is writing to Cadillac in a way that will bring him to his senses. He then goes on to say:

> His Majesty has disapproved of the transfer of the Miami mission from the Jesuits to the Recollects. He is also displeased at the aversion which Cadillac has for these Fathers, and the harm he is doing in the minds of the Indians of Detroit and of the surrounding country.

At this point we should expect Pontchartrain to agree with the king's criticism of Cadillac. Instead, he attempts to find excuses for the culprit, and even attach importance to Cadillac's accusations against Marest. "However, if it is true that Father Marest has dissuaded the Ottawa from establishing themselves at Detroit, as these Indians have said in the council with M. de Lamothe, this Father is very wrong indeed; His Majesty wishes you to look into this matter."[55]

It is a pity that Pontchartrain had such a short memory, or that he did not re-read Cadillac's own statement, a few years earlier, about the unwillingness of officials to serve in Canada if the testimony of Indians were adduced against them in a court of justice. Moreover, the man who dissuaded the Ottawa from establishing themselves at Detroit was not Father Marest but St. Pierre.[56] Marest himself had repeatedly declared his willingness to go to Detroit if the Indians decided to go there, but the latter were more and more determined to stay at Michilimackinac.

Pontchartrain's letter to the Jesuits of Canada begins by saying that although His Majesty has reproved Cadillac for the expulsion of Father Aveneau, Cadillac has reported that Aveneau did all in his power to prevent the Miami from establishing themselves "on a river twelve leagues from Detroit and that the Jesuits refused to

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[55] Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, June 6, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 417.

[56] Cf. the speech of the Ottawa at Detroit, September 24, 1707, MPHS, 33: 347.

take care of the latter post. If these facts are true, you are in the wrong." However, His Majesty had ordered Cadillac to re-instate the Jesuits among the Miami and in the other missions from which they have been expelled. "But you, on your part, must be obedient, and your Fathers must not be lacking in the respect due to his office of commandant." The missions of Canada are not stable, but His Majesty does not intend to take away those which are in the possession of the Jesuits.

If it is agreeable to you to *maintain* the mission at Detroit, you must be under the authority of sieur de Lamothe, and in this case you must find means of effecting a reconciliation with him. Considering what I am writing to him about the intention of His Majesty, I am persuaded that you will find him favorably disposed.[57]

Pontchartrain's use of the expression, "s'il vous convient de garder celle [mission] du Detroit," suggests that the Jesuits were already established there; but, in fact, they never accepted that mission. When Cadillac had cajoled Le Pesant into going to Detroit, Marest had promised that another missionary would come to stay with the Ottawa, once they were settled there. But this condition was never fulfilled. It is true that the missions were not "stable," but Cadillac had no right to change the missionaries. This right belonged solely to the bishop, and we know that Cadillac was no bishop.

Pontchartrain's letter to Cadillac is fourteen pages in length; only one short paragraph of it was printed by the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*. He rebukes the commandant for trying to be independent of the governor general, for mistreating all those who he thought were attached to Vaudreuil, and for neither acknowledging nor executing the orders which Vaudreuil sends him. "I am sufficiently convinced of the last two counts by what you yourself write, and I now tell you that if you continue to act as you have done, the king can do nothing else than remove you from Detroit." This is Pontchartrain's first warning to Cadillac, but he immediately softens the blow by adding: "This would, of course, make you lose both your tenure of service and your fortune." After summarizing the complaints of the Jesuits of Canada, he goes on to say:

I have been very much surprised to receive such reports. All of this, in conjunction with your attitude toward M. de Vaudreuil, would undoubtedly have lost for you the favor of the king, if I had not prevented these Fathers from complaining to His Majesty, by assuring them that you will certainly change your conduct toward them. You are apparently unaware of the

[57] Pontchartrain to the Jesuits of Canada, June 6, 1708, AC, B 29: 343–343v.

influence of these Fathers with His Majesty, for otherwise, I do not believe that you would deliberately jeopardize all your past services by having yourself recalled. I advise you, therefore, to be much more moderate in all your actions, and especially to innovate nothing without previously making sure of His Majesty's intentions.

Since the king has permitted the Jesuits to establish themselves anywhere they please in Canada to preach the Gospel, he demands that they be reinstated in the Miami mission. It does not belong to you to meddle with the Missions, but to the Bishop of Quebec, or, if he be absent, to his vicar-general. All you have to do for the missionaries who are within your jurisdiction is to give them whatever protection they ask for.[58]

VI. Official Report on Cadillac

François de Clairambault Daigremont[59] who, as we have seen, was commanded by the king to make an official inspection of the various western posts, and especially of Detroit,[60] also received instructions from Pontchartrain. The minister tells that he is being sent to visit the western posts" to find out what is going on;"[61] he also asks for a detailed report of his journey, and wants him to decide which posts are to be kept and which are to be abandoned.[62] Diagremont left Montreal on June 5, 1708, and was back in the latter town on September 12.[63]

He reached Detroit on July 15, and soon observed that, with the exception of three or four men who were secretly trading for Cadillac's benefit, "M. de Lamothe . . . was generally hated by French and Indians alike."[64] He supports his statement by detailed evidence. A blacksmith named Parent is obliged to pay 600 livres and to give two barrels of beer annually for the privilege of engaging in his work, and he must also shoe, gratis, all the horses that Cadillac may have, "although at present he has only one." An armorer named Pinet has to pay 300 livres a year and repair, gratis, for Cadillac, twelve guns a month, which makes a total levy equivalent

58 Pontchartrain to Cadillac, June 6, 1708, AC, B 29: 336, and 337v–338.

59 His name is spelled as in the text in the burial registers of the Quebec Cathedral. P.-G. Roy, Les *cimetières de Québec* (Lévis, 1941), 45.

60 Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, RAPQ, June 30, 1707, RAPQ, 1940, 359. His instructions are published in NYCD, 9: 806 f.

61 Pontchartrain to Cadillac June 30, 1707, AC, B 29: 105v.

62 Pontchartrain to Daigremont, July 7, 1707, AC, B 29: 126 f.

63 Daigremont to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, MPHS, 33: 424.

64 Daigremont's report, MPHS, 33: 425. Cf. Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 450; Vaudreuil to *id.*, summary of letters of June 27, 28, October 4, November 5, and 12, AC, C 11A, 29: 295.

to 1,740 livres a year. Cadillac also owns a windmill at Detroit[65] and is exacting one-eighth of a *minot* from all those who use the mill, instead of one fourteenth as is customary throughout the colony. The land cleared at Detroit, and the number of inhabitants have already been discussed.[66] Cadillac has a monopoly on the brandy trade there, which he sells for twenty livres a *pot;* Daigremont computes that the selling of 104 *pots,* for four livres a *pot,* which Cadillac obtained under pressure from those who were returning to Montreal, netted 1,664 livres. There is also a tax on land grants as well as a fee of four livres for every contract of concession. The two bastions of the fort, he says, are so small and of such an extraordinary shape that one would never recognize them as bastions, unless assured that they were. Cadillac also kept for himself a part of the soldiers' monthly pay, and on one occasion actually cornered the wheat market. As for enlisting companies of Indians, "he knew quite well that his scheme could not succeed, and had no other object in asking for such companies than to avail himself of the funds set apart for them, or at least three-fourths of such funds."[67]

According to Daigremont, the fundamental difficulty at Detroit was Cadillac's plan to bring together in this region all the tribes of the Great Lakes. From the very beginning, the troubles which have arisen show how impolitic it was to assemble there Hurons and Ottawa and Miami. Because of the close connection between the Hurons and the Miami, and their contact with the Iroquois, all these tribes are now friendly toward one another, and are disposed to unite as enemies of the French. After describing the Ottawa brawl, he remarks: "This disturbance is not the only one which has occurred at Detroit . . . and it will not be the last, if this post is long in existence."[68]

Daigremont's report also contains a much more detailed account of the disturbance caused by the Miami of which we have already spoken. The Miami, says Daigremont, were so enraged at seeing Le Pesant and his family moved to Detroit, that together with the Hurons and the Iroquois they plotted to kill Cadillac and massacre all the French who were at the fort.[69] The plot, however, was dis-

[65] Cadillac had bought the windmill from Mme Laforest on January 29, 1706, MPHS, 34: 229.

[66] MID-AMERICA, October, 1948, 243–244.

[67] Daigremont's report, MPHS, 33: 430. Other instances of Cadillac's exactions, *ibid.,* 441 ff.

[68] Daigremont's report, *ibid.,* 436.

[69] Cf. Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 447.

covered, and they succeeded only in killing three Frenchmen and a cow as well as an ox which belonged to sieur de Lamothe. Meanwhile D'Argenteuil had gone to Saginaw to ask the Ottawa to come to Cadillac's rescue. Cadillac offered to make peace with the Miami on condition that 1) within forty days they deliver to him the men who had killed the Frenchmen; 2) within two weeks they hand over to him a young Ottawa whom the Miami had taken prisoner; 3) they should pay for the ox and the cow. "He insisted so strongly on this last point that the Indians could not help saying that they saw quite clearly that he valued an ox and a cow higher than a man."[70]

When the Miami failed to fulfil these conditions, Cadillac resolved to declare war on them. He had a big feast prepared, which had to be paid for by the French at the post—"even the soldiers contributed to it." Three days later, Cadillac marched out of the fort in pursuit of the Miami, but forgot to take powder along with him. While waiting for the powder to be brought, he made a speech to the Indians with him, in which he disparaged the fighting qualities of the Miami. When the Indians told him that the Miami were good fighters, he replied that he had no need of their advice. The rest of this campaign is one of the most ridiculous episodes of colonial warfare. He first marched to a fort where "he was assured that the Miami were not." Later, when he came in sight of the fort where these Indians were entrenched, (a slight palisade of crossed stakes), those ahead shouted so loudly that those in the rear, including Cadillac himself, thought it had been taken. This false impression was effectively corrected when the Miami opened fire. "During this time, the said sieur de Lamothe, for fear of being wounded, hid himself behind a tree three fathoms in circumference; and only relinquished his hiding place to put himself entirely out of range of cannon shot, "although," said Daigremont, "the Indians had no cannon."[71] He added that Cadillac could easily have taken the fort with sixty men.

Just as Cadillac gave the order to retreat to Detroit, his men saw floating over the fort a French flag which he had given to the Miami in the preceding spring. On being told of this he immediately said that the Miami must be given a hearing. The "armistice" which followed is as ridiculous as the "war" itself. As an indemnity, Cadillac kept for himself several bundles of pelts, "apparently in com-

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[70] Daigremont's report, MPHS, 33: 436.

[71] Cf. the comments of Vaudreuil and the Raudots, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 447.

pensation for the trouble he took in going to the fort."[72] Daigremont concluded: "Such, my Lord is the report given me by several men who took part in this glorious campaign . . . The French and the Indians . . . had until then believed that Cadillac was a very brave man, because he had often told them so."

A month after the "war," since no further word had come from the Miami about fulfilling the conditions of peace which Cadillac had initially specified, he sent four Frenchmen to make inquiries. The Miami gave two hostages and kept two of the Frenchmen, meanwhile assuring the great warrior at Detroit that they would fulfill the other conditions later. "There is no ground," said Daigremont, "for believing that they will, for the Miami have withdrawn and two months have gone by without any news being received from them."[73] Since all this turmoil had been caused by the return of Le Pesant to Detroit, Cadillac could have prevented it by putting Le Pesant to death. Daigremont explains why this was not done. The pelts which were brought for trade to Detroit by the Miami were only roe-buck skins, whereas almost all the furs supplied by the Ottawa were valuable beaver pelts. It was therefore more profitable for Cadillac to have the Ottawa come to Detroit, even at the risk of war with the Miami.

"All of the above could have been avoided," wrote Vaudreuil, "if sieur de Lamothe had not prevented Father Aveneau, a year ago, from returning among the Miami." Cadillac, of course, did not agree with Vaudreuil on this point, and kept writing to Pontchartrain defaming the Jesuit missionaries and continuing his efforts to turn the French and the Indians against them. Vaudreuil goes on to say that what Cadillac had written to Pontchartrain about Father Marest was false. As the missionary's letter of June 4 shows, he was ready to move to Detroit with the Ottawa, but these Indians had by this time acquired an ingrained aversion against the post. No other proof of this is needed than the speeches they made in Montreal.[74] As for the affairs of the West, Vaudreuil does not know what to do; he does not dare to take action, for Cadillac keeps him in the dark as to what is going on at Detroit.[75]

From the king's next letter to Daigremont, it is clear that Daigre-

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[72] Cf. *Ibid.*, 448.

[73] Daigremont's report, MPHS, 33: 440.

[74] Cf. speeches of the Ottawa of Michilimackinac, MPHS, 33: 388; summary of the letters of Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain for June 27, 28, October 4, November 5, and 12, AC, C 11A, 29: 295.

[75] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, November 5, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 427 f.

mont's report was not communicated to him. His only comment is as follows:

It seems that this post [Detroit] is already well advanced for the short time since it has been established, and if the other posts had made as much progress, the colony would be in better shape than it is. One cannot refuse sieur de Lamothe the justice due to him in this respect.[76]

Not a word about Cadillac's exactions, the Ottawa affair, or the "war" against the Miami; in fact, one wonders whether whoever wrote the king's letter ever read Daigremont's report.

Pontchartrain, however, indicates that the contents of the report had been summarized for his benefit. In his letter to Daigremont, he says:

It seems to me that your sojourn at Detroit was not long enough to obtain a thorough understanding of the situation. Besides, M. de Lamothe complains that you did not confer with him for a sufficient length of time to appreciate the reasons whereon he acted. Had you done so, you might perhaps have formed other opinions than those you embraced.[77] In a new country, new maxiums are sometimes necessary which may on the face of it appear censurable, and yet are intrinsically good. Nevertheless, I find an excessive cupidity in sieur de Lamothe, and his private interests in establishing that post may have led him to prefer his personal advantage to the general good of the colony.

He then goes on to speak about the Ottawa and the Miami:

Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac's conduct toward the latter does not appear blamable to me. On the contrary, it seems that he did what he could, and provided the Miami keep their promise of surrendering those who killed and plundered the French, or if they come and settle at Detroit, nothing but what is good and useful will result from what he has done. Let me know what you find out in this connection.[78]

Pontchartrain's reply is indeed surprising. He seems to ignore the fact that Daigremont had been sent for the express purpose of finding out what was going on at Detroit, and that two months after the end of the "war" against the Miami, the latter had not yet surrendered those who had killed and plundered the French. If Pontchartrain found nothing blamable in Cadillac's conduct of the "war", not even his hiding behind a tree, and if all he wanted was

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[76] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, July 10, 1709, RAPQ, 1942, 410.

[77] Pontchartrain's annotation to an abstract of Daigremont's report says: "It seems from the letters of M. de Vaudreuil and from those of MM. Raudots that they think the same as Daigremont with regard to Detroit." AC, C 11A, 29: 189.

[78] Pontchartrain to Daigremont, July 6, 1709, NYCD, 9: 827.

to have the Miami come back and settle at Detroit, his comments are intelligible enough. But he certainly failed to realize the effect of such conduct on the other Indian tribes of the Northwest. As for his request for further information, it is simply ridiculous. Daigremont had given enough details, and if the minister was not satisfied with the report written when Daigremont was on the spot, the latter could not be expected to know what was going on in Detroit after he had returned to Montreal.

Daigremont, who knew Cadillac, sent Pontchartrain a letter, on which the minister noted: "He is abusing the influence which he thinks he has." The letter said in part:

> If I had believed that a longer stay at Detroit would have given me a better knowledge of that post, I would not have left so soon. As regards the complaint which M. de Lamothe has made to you that I had not conversed with him long enough to hear thoroughly the reasons which govern his actions, I thought, my Lord, that any longer conversation with a man like him, whose disposition is secretive and full of cunning, could only make me more doubtful about what it was my business to learn.[79]

The letter which Cadillac wrote to the minister on September 15, 1708, is extant only in summary.

> He [Cadillac] attributes to the Jesuit Fathers most of the difficulties which he finds in his post of Detroit. They have perceived, he says, how useful for them those difficulties are and have desired to profit by them, but that cannot be reconciled with his own interest. It is necessary either for him to quit this post or for them to abandon it. He is prepared to arrange the matter and will grant them compensation.

This, as we said above, is a summary of Cadillac's letter; it is possible that the man who abridged it misread the letter itself, for there were no Jesuits at Detroit and consequently they could not abandon the post. The summary then continues:

> He [Cadillac] says further that these Fathers have prevented the Ottawa from coming to Detroit. He will prove it by a letter which Father Malet, missionary at Michilimackinac, wrote to him; this letter is dated October 23, 1677. He did not, however, receive it until 1707.[80]

The marginal note appended to this paragraph reads thus:

> Apparently the missionary is mistaken in the date. M. de Lamothe discusses this point at great length, and says that the Jesuits will prove that this letter was written thirty years ago, without anyone daring to contradict them.

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[79] Daigremont to Pontchartrain, October 18, 1710, MPHS, 33: 487.
[80] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, *ibid.*, September 15, 1708, 390.

Here again the summary is very confusing. First, there never was a Jesuit by the name of Malet in New France; hence Cadillac must have written "Marest," the only missionary at Michilimackinac with whom he corresponded. Second, it was Cadillac, not Marest who said that the letter was written in 1677. Now 1677 was six years before Cadillac came to America; and Marest was then teaching in the college of La Flèche in France.[81] Third, the annotator's comment that the missionary is apparently mistaken about the date for the reason indicated above is entirely impossible. The extant letters of Marest to Cadillac cover a period of three years, and his last letter must certainly have reached Detroit before 1707. There is of course a mistake somewhere, but precisely where is impossible to say.

To establish Detroit securely, says Cadillac according to this summary, it would be necessary to send from five to six hundred inhabitants and a proportionate number of troops. He wants Fort Frontenac, where Tonti is in command, to be moved to La Gallette, twenty five leagues farther down the St. Lawrence. He also asks for companies of Indians, but everyone is opposed to this. Whenever he pleases, he will set so many enemies against the Iroquois that they will leave him in peace. A note by Pontchartrain in the margin says: "This did not appear in the affair which he had with the Miami." As a matter of fact there is not one word about the Miami in Cadillac's whole letter, yet this matter was much more important than any of the points mentioned in this rambling letter. He fears, continues the summary, that Detroit may have to be abandoned, all the more since he has already lost 20,000 livres.[82] The soldiers, he says, are coining money at Detroit. Anyone can earn from 700 to 1,000 livres or more a year.[83]

The marginal notes which Pontchartrain appended to this summary were elaborated in his letter to Cadillac of the following year. Only a few paragraphs of this letter have been published previously by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society; we shall publish the letter in full, and include in the footnotes the parallel passages to which allusion is made.

I have received the letters which you wrote to me up and until that of September 15 of last year.[84]

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[81] Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII*e *siècle*, 3: 480, note 1.

[82] "Il [Cadillac] tâche de gagner de l'argent tant quil peut, et cela de quelque maniere quil puisse." Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 451.

[83] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1708, MPHS, 33: 391–395.

[84] There may be other letters, but except for that of September 15, 1708, none other seems to be extant.

I note with much sorrow the little consideration which you have in your dealings with everybody, and I notice that your prejudices continue to make enemies of all those who have dealings with you. I am surprised that, intelligent as you are, you do not foresee the consequences this will have for you, and that you should think that everybody should always be sacrificed to you.

The preamble in which you attack the Jesuits without any necessity or discretion is a palpable proof of your prejudice. They belong to too powerful a body to fear your attacks, and you should never entertain the thought that you will be able to destroy them. You would have acted more wisely if you had conciliated them. I have given up hopes that you will change if you continue to be swayed by your prejudices.

What you have written about a letter that Father Marest wrote to you is unintelligible gibberish. What good did you think it would do you to write such nonsense? It is too sad for words.

Your plan of having five or six hundred inhabitants sent to Detroit in order to establish it firmly, is a clear proof that you are aware of the difficulties of your remaining there much longer. I am persuaded that you realize how ridiculous and impossible such a proposal is, and that you finally agreed with the other officials of Canada.[85]

Your other plan of joining Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, is equally ridiculous. You say that you alone know the means of joining the two lakes. Why do you not tell me what this means is, or at least what reason you have to make a mystery of it?

You also write that you do not want to feed the soldiers for whom you asked with so much insistence.[86] The king will not burden himself with such an immense expense. Hence the only thing I can do is to send orders to M. de Vaudreuil to have them return to Montreal.[87]

You write that the best thing for Canada is to have the French in control of all the beaver pelts, and you propose to gather them all at Detroit. In the main your proposal is good and is something toward which we must strive. But if we may judge of the future from the past, the following out of this proposal will lead to a diametrically opposite result. You must know that the beaver pelts which came to Detroit last year have all been sold to the English.[88] If you still have a doubt about this, the amount of English goods, of which Detroit . . . is full should be enough to convince you. So we find ourselves inevitably compelled to take other measures. The

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[85] In the margin of Cadillac's letter of September 15, 1708, Pontchartrain wrote: "True, but impossible make him understand the absurdity of it." MPHS, 33: 390.

[86] Cf. Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 461; Daigremont's report, MPHS, 33: 429.

[87] In the preceding year, the two Raudots had written to Pontchartrain that as soon as Daigremont left, Cadillac punished the whole garrison, and while the soldiers were in the fort, the "étourneaux" had eaten all the grain in the fields. The soldiers asked to be allowed to leave Detroit. The Raudots to Pontchartrain, October 23, 1708, AC, C 11A, 28: 278.—The order recalling the soldiers from Detroit is dated July 6, 1709, AC, B 30: 152; they had all returned to Montreal by the spring of 1710. Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, September 3, 1710, MPHS, 33: 480.

[88] A. D. Raudot to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1708, MPHS, 33: 395.

re-establishment of Michilimackinac becomes absolutely necessary.[89] You were formerly in command there, so you know as well as anybody the advantages of this post. The intention of His Majesty is that you let those of this [Ottawa] nation which you have brought to Detroit, as well as the Hurons, return to Michilimackinac when they wish.

You propose to establish a fund of 100,000 *écus* to carry out your project.[90] This would not be nearly enough, and would not be for the good of the colony. However I ask you to let me know by what means you intend to raise that money.

His Majesty will allow you to keep Detroit, if you wish, . . . but only after he has withdrawn the troops. It is feared that the animosity which exists between the various tribes which you have brought to Detroit, may be an insuperable obstacle to keeping the post. What has taken place with regard to the Miami must make you apprehensive of this kind of discord, especially if you are forced to protect some of the Indians against the others, and I do not see how you can avoid it.

Your intention of permitting Frenchmen to marry Indian girls of different nations will also cause divisions, and it is to be feared that you will alienate several nations. This may be the reason why M. de Vaudreuil has forbidden such marriages. I am, however, ordering him to examine this question anew and to allow these marriages if you write to him that disunion will not follow and if he has no other reasons for opposing them.[91]

The same sieur de Vaudreuil has not complained of your refusal to wage war against the Illinois. Your reasons for refusing seem to have persuaded him. I approve of them.

I have seen what you write concerning the conditions which the Company of the Colony wanted to impose upon you beyond your contract with the king.[92] M. Raudot was wrong in not including these conditions, for I have been informed that the king's intention is that you have the same obligations toward him as the Company of the Colony to which you succeed. However, if this has not been done, I am writing to M. Raudot that you are not bound by these conditions. But as His Majesty has decided not to go to any expense for this establishment [Detroit], you will have to bear such expenses as are absolutely necessary, such as the upkeep of the chaplain, and the surgeon, and the cost of medicine. It would not be fair that His Majesty should undergo any expense for a place which does not yield any return.

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[89] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, July 6, 1709, AC, B 30: 156; Delino to Pontchartrain, November 15, 1708, AC, C 11A, 29: 259. The minister noted at the beginning of Vaudreuil's letter of September 3, 1710: "I can see that the post of Michilimackinac must be re-established." MPHS, 33: 479. This was the result of ten years of turmoil in the West; Louvigny was appointed commandant at Michilimackinac, Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, May 10, 1710, AC, B 32: 7.

[90] This "project" was to put the French in control of all the coasts of North America. Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1708, MPHS, 33: 393.

[91] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, July 6, 1709, AC, B 30: 152; and to Vaudreuil, AC, B 30: 159v. The objections are found in MPHS, 33: 453.

[92] This is explained in Pontchartrain to the Raudots, July 6, 1709, AC, B 30: 139v.

The same must be said of the construction of the fort and of the church. The man who derives profits from the country should be bound to erect these buildings. This must serve as a rule or the future. There is no difficulty about granting you the patronage of the church which you are building.

Nobody can find any objection to the profits which you have made or will make at Detroit, as long as you are using only just and legal means. I must say, however, that you show too much greed and that you should use more moderation. This will always make us fear to give you too much power.

The tax which you have levied on the mill cannot be tolerated. You must absolutely reduce it to that which obtains in the rest of Canada; that is, one fourteenth of a *minot*, instead of one eighth.[93]

His Majesty may perhaps erect Detroit into an independent province, if it is advisable to leave you there. But nothing will be done in this respect until next year.

We cannot accept your proposal to draw for your expenses at Detroit, on the fund that was formerly allocated to doweries. This fund is no longer on the budget, and His Majesty no longer gives anything for this purpose.[94]

You have imposed a poll-tax of ten livres on all the people of Detroit to make up for the trade which, as you say, you alone had the right to carry on there. You should have made the people of Detroit agree to this beforehand, and you should have received authorization from His Majesty. Nobody has the right to levy such a tax on his subjects without his permission.

The commission of sieur de Bourgmont which you ask to be given to your son, cannot be given to him until Bourgmont is cashiered. I shall speak to the king of his dissolute conduct, and if His Majesty thinks fit to dismiss him from his service, I shall willingly propose your son to take his place.

I shall write to M. Raudot to find out what reasons he may have had for charging the price for powder and bullets, about which you complain. If he is wrong, I shall give the orders you are asking for.[95]

Your proposal to have companies of Indians cannot be accepted. It appears dangerous to His Majesty, and he forbids you to do anything in the matter. You would no longer be the master of the Indians if you were to drill them, and it is to be feared that they would become your masters; since their number is superior to the number of Frenchmen, they would drive you out. You know them too well not to realize that you will never make them obedient or capable of any kind of subordination. Moreover, this would cause jealousy, which would give rise to new brawls. Bringing the Indians to Detroit is not fitting either. You may tell me that this policy obtains in Canada. That is true enough, but what is tolerable in the colony

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93 Cf. the protests of Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 450.

94 Cf. Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1708, MPHS, 33: 393.

95 "What opinion can one have, my Lord, what respect can one feel, for a man who is such an adept at lying, and can make false allegations so boldly; and besides, he complains of a thing which he states in one of his letters has been agreed upon by common consent." The Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1709, MPHS, 33: 462.

in general, is not so in a particular section of it. They would be too powerful if they were to come there in great numbers, and when you are unable to give them what they ask, they may take it by force.[96] There is no fear of this eventuality either in Quebec or in Montreal. If you have any particular reason for doing a favor to some of the Indians, you may notify the governor general and the intendant, who will send you help in proportion to the means at their disposal.

You write that you withheld the pay of the soldiers who did some work at Detroit and that it will be possible to make use of this fund for refreshments for the sick. Send me an itemized account of the sum which you actually have in hand.[97]

I have given the king an account of your proposal to hand over to him the land of Detroit, when you have put it in shape. His Majesty does not demand this of you, but he desires that you apply yourself to draw from it a large income. His intention is that you make this post useful to the common good of the colony and that you keep the inhabitants satisfied, while preserving your private interests as far as justice will permit it.

His Majesty will not give at Detroit any land grant to the religious communities of that country;[98] he will see to it that the land grants to individuals be not of too great an extent. I will, however, send you the confirmation of the land grants for your son and your daughter.

Sieur Daigremont wrote me that, when he arrived at Michilimackinac, an Ottawa chief complained that you refused to give back to him a wampum belt which he gave to your clerk as a pledge. The pledge was for five pelts which this clerk had loaned to him, and now he wants the Indian chief to pay double. You must be aware of this. It is necessary that you order this clerk to give back the wampum belt and the caldron for five beaver pelts. It would not be fair that the Indians have any just ground for complaints.[99]

I have learned about the Miami affair. I have even learned that your conduct has not been approved by everybody. I would be satisfied if these people keep their word and hand over those who killed and pillaged the French, or, if they would come and settle at Detroit. It is necessary to keep me exactly informed.[100]

Two weeks after the above letter was written, Cadillac wrote for the last time from Detroit to the minister in Paris. The two

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[96] Cf. Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 13, 1708, MPHS, 33: 399f. Daigremont had said practically the same thing in 1708. MPHS, 33: 430 f.

[97] Cadillac speaks of a "small sum." *Ibid.*, 394.

[98] "But in order to succeed with his design to make Detroit a profitable place, nothing must be conceded to the Jesuits nor to other communities, because they possess the secret of attracting everything to themselves, which causes the 'seigneurs' of Canada to remain poor." Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1708, *ibid.*, 394. The minister wrote in the margin: "He is right."

[99] This paragraph is typical of Pontchartrain; unimportant things are given full treatment, whereas the Miami affair (next paragraph) is dispatched in a few lines.

[100] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, July 6, 1709, AC, B 30: 162–168.

letters must have crossed each other. He begins by saying that the value of the land at Detroit had increased 1,000 livres, and that, if he can move elsewhere, he will be able, in two years' time, to increase its value up to 6,000 livres. He would enter into greater detail, but he fears that his letter may be intercepted. It seems necessary for him to go to France, but he knows that if he does, people will say that he intends to leave Detroit for good; such a thought, however, has never entered his mind.

By the death of Crisafy, the governorship of Three Rivers has became vacant; he now asks for the position, promising to pay 6,000 livres for it. He will make all the necessary arrangements with Vaudreuil and Raudot with regard to Detroit; he only asks the value of his windmill and of his cattle. "He has been a captain for eighteen years now and begs to be granted the cross of St. Louis." He also notes that last year, he said nothing about Daigremont, and then mentions that the latter has been thinking seriously of marrying Madeleine de Lamothe, but that he himself has "found certain deficiencies" in his prospective son-in-law. Cadillac wanted to go to France to marry off his daughter, "but he cannot do so without being there himself." The letter ends thus: "He has no objection to being subordinate and he does not believe that he failed in this respect when he defended his rights. He is sure that if he had done what they wanted him to do, there would be no Fort Pontchartrain today."[101]

The minister endorsed the summary of the preceding letter as follows: "The replacement which takes place today makes all this useless." The "replacement" referred to is Cadillac's appointment as governor of Louisiana, and "today" is May 5, 1710. The commission, however, states that he would be under the "authority of sieur de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant general in our country of New France."[102] Pontchartrain congratulated Cadillac and said that he was very glad to be of help to him; Cadillac is to proceed at once overland as soon as possible, so as to be there when the ship, which is being prepared at Rochefort, arrives in Louisiana.[103] At the same time, Cadillac's former command at Detroit was given to Laforest.[104]

(To be continued)

JEAN DELANGLEZ

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101 Cadillac to Pontchartrain, July 21, 1709, AC, C 11A, 30: 410–413.
102 Provisions de gouverneur de la Louisiane en faveur du sieur de Lamothe, May 5, 710, AC, A 22: 10.
103 Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 13, 1710, AC, B 32: 56v–57.
104 Pontchartrain to Laforest, May 15, 1710, AC, B 32: 68.

Book Reviews

Mexico, A Land of Volcanoes. By Joseph H. L. Schlarman. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1950. Pp. xiv, 640. Illustrated. $5.

For seven years Bishop Schlarman has been preparing the materials for this popular history of Mexico by wide reading, personal observation throughout Mexico, and by interviews with people prominent in the various walks of Mexican life. The outcome is a unique story, familiar in its general outline but varied from chapter to chapter by keen or homey observations, some unusual interpretations, and a fresh distribution of old facts for stress. In the main it would seem that the author tends toward the same tragic conclusion summarized years ago by the late Dr. Herebrt I. Priestley: "I give up on Mexico." Yet Bishop Schlarman, not so pessimistic, reveals a deep appreciation of the undying spirit of the multitudes of inarticulate peoples of Mexico, and he has stamped his work with a character of friendliness, or better, paternal understanding.

The first part in eleven chapters covers the colonial period, with perhaps too much emphasis on the Conquest. The many Spanish institutions planted in New Spain, political, social, economic, and cultural, are covered topically. Each as it appeared in the American scene is indicated as part of the slowly evolving program that came to be known as the Spanish Colonial System. The second part in fifteen chapters tells the story of the hundred years from Hidalgo in 1810 to the end of the rule of Porfirio Díaz. The revolutionary priest is treated with far more dispassion than one would expect a bishop to show, but here, as on the other controversial points involving the Church, the Bishop is the objective historian. The chapters on Hidalgo, Morelos, and Iturbide are told with dramatic force. The biographical approach continues through Díaz, since there seems to be no other way to organize the chaotic history of the country.

The third part, headed "Groping toward Political and Social Justice," describes the tragic plight of the people under the dictatorships from Madero to Alemán. Pen pictures of Madero, Huerta, Carranza, Pancho Villa, Zapata, Obregón, Calles, Cárdenas, and Canabal, are as memorable as the graphic account of how they brought Mexico to such a sad pass and the red rule of Cárdenas. In a concluding "Reverie" Bishop Schlarman points to the prime elements for a happier Mexico, namely, honesty in politics, a new constitution based of popular sovereignty, and Christian social justice, as terminators of gangster rule. He does not carry the story beyond the more bright vista which opened in 1940. The book is well illustrated with maps and pictures, has an index and a selective bibliography.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago.

Nationalism and Internationalism, Essays Inscribed to Carlton J. H. Hayes. Edited by Edward Mead Earle. Columbia University Press, New York, 1950. Pp. xvii, 510. $5.75.

The influence of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes as a historian on students, colleagues and friends has been deep and wide. All his writings—and he has been exceedingly productive—exhibit scholarly competence, acknowledged objectivity and a firm grasp of the numerous forces which shape history. Professor Hayes has been particularly preeminent in the study of nationalism with all its protean manifestations. This volume, consisting of nineteen essays by former students and friends, attempts to trace the various aspects of nationalism.

Jacques Barzun writes a splendid essay on "Cultural Nationalism and the Makings of Fame." Many national idols, he holds, achieve fame not only long after their death but also "because of secondary virtues long unsuspected in their work and sometimes extraneous to it." Goethe was chosen, for example, a national idol not for his reputation at home but for his reputation abroad. The Artist, the Representative Man, says Barzun, must by good luck be "available" in the secondary ways which the times dictate. Added to this, the artist must be acknowledged for quality and scope, embody the dominant strain in the national tradition and be able "to achieve instant identification in the eyes of foreigners."

In the essay "The Heavy Hand of Hegel," dealing with historians and historical writers, Charles W. Cole endeavors to disentangle the nationalism of Hegel. Hegel used history to "prove" an elaborate theory of world development which culminated in the Prussian monarchy and Lutheran Christianity. Spengler in his *Decline of the West* almost outpersonified Hegel himself in the attempt to cram all history into one pattern. Werner Sombart is another disciple who displayed the Hegelian trait *a priori* in his treatment of capitalism.

There are three studies of English nationalists—"H. G. Wells, British Patriot In Search of a World State" by E. M. Earle; "Arthur Young, British Patriot" by J. C. Gazley; and "Sir John Seeley, Pragmatic Historian in a Nationalistic Age" by T. F. Peardon. Wells frankly used the novel as a propaganda instrument for social reform and a world state. He considered nationalism as the basic cause of war. He loathed it for its parochialism, egocentricity, intolerance, and considered it, like imperialism and protectionism, irrational and anachronistic. Yet Wells "was not only intensly and proudly English, but was Cockney English" as well. But Wells considered himself as an educator of the masses and a journalist and not an historian. Arthur Young managed to publish twenty-nine volumes, twenty-six pamphlets and several hundred articles in the *Annals of Agriculture,* of which he was the editor, before he died at the age of seventy-nine. He was not a systematic thinker either in sociology or economics but primarily a publicist. Young's nationalism passed through three stages. In his youth he fervently believed in mercantilism. From 1770 to 1789, he adopted laissez faire and in the third stage up to his death, he became, as a consequence of the radicalism of the French Revolution, a strong nationalist. Sir John Seeley, the author of *Ecce Homo* and *the Expansion of England,* was learned and cultivated. For him there were three main elements in nationality: the belief

in a community of race, common interests and a common religion. The effect of his work, *The Expansion of England* "was to justify the British Empire and prescribe means whereby it could be made permanent."

Charlotte Muret in "The Swiss Pattern For a Federated Europe" claims that Switzerland is a "small scale model of what a United States of Europe might become in the future." Mary E. Townsend's essay "Hitler and the Revival of German Colonialism" is exceptionally stimulating. She points out that one of Hitler's prime objectives was the development of a colonial policy since it supplied him with popular support for his regime and his plans for a greater Germany. The Colonialists and the Nazis nursed the flame of nationalism by writhing under the "loss of territories," the "disgrace of disarmament," the "colonian lies" and by 1939 unilaterally demanded colonial "revisionism" which, in Nazi language, meant the return of the German colonies.

Not all these essays are of equal merit. It is true of almost all antholgies that some pieces are more interesting or more scholarly written than others. This work is no different. Several of these studies would appeal only to the specialist, as for example, F. S. Child's "A Secret Agents Advice on America, 1797," R. Ergang's "National Sentiment in Klopstock's Odes and *Bardiete,*" and R. J. Rath's "The Habsburgs and Public Opinion in Lombardy-Venetia, 1814–1815." They need not, moreover, be read chronologically. Thus the reader can select those which most interest him. The professional historian, in all likelihood, though, will read all the essays and find them arousing and rewarding even if, dispite the common theme of nationalism running through them, they are somewhat disconnected. There is an appended biographical sketch for each essayist. The index is thorough and satisfactory.

JOSEPH FRANCIS MENEZ

Loyola University, Chicago

Backwoods Uropias, The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663–1829. By Arthur Eugene Bestor. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1950. Pp. xi, 288. $3.50.

The title of this book might lead one to believe that it contained a description of the life in the ideal communities set up by social reformers along the fringe of settlement as Anglo-American expansion moved West. That is not the fact. It is a very scholarly treatise dealing much more with the analysis of social ideas which lay behind these communities than with what actually happened in them.

Because of the present implications connected with the word "communism", Mr. Bestor prefers to use the term "Communitarian Communities" to describe the type of social experiments which he makes the subject of his study. He goes to great pains in the first chapter to explain what is meant by the "communitarian point of view." His emphasis is put on a factor common to religious and economic groups in which the peculiar life was

attempted. They were erperimental communities hoping by their success on a small scale to attract the great world outside to imitate their changes and reforms. (See: Introduction, vii and viii; and pages 3, 4, 12 to 14). He differentiates the spirit of his "Utopias" from that of Marxian philosophy by showing that they did not advocate revolution (p. 5–12) or depend on historical determination trends and evolution, (pp. 14–15).

In the second chapter one learns that the early attempts in America at segregated community life were religious in character. The founders, and locations of a few of these sectarian commonwealths are set forth, in seventeen pages devoted to them. The third chapter makes the transition to Robert Owen and his idas in founding New Harmony on the Wabash River in Indiana. The remainder of the book is devoted to this experiment. It is the real meat of the work.

The author has left very few stones unturned which might reveal material on this part of his research. His bibliographical essay covers more than twenty pages, and many additional sources, such as newspapers, which he considers not of sufficient importance, are referred to in footnotes where they bolster the text. The results of such study give the reader a fine presentation of Owen as the theoretic, economic philanthropist, intrigued by his own propaganda, who spent a fortune in trying to make his dream come true, but failed.

Since this side of Owen's character is made so clear, one regrets that Mr. Bestor so obviously slights the religious attitude of the man. Only four or five pages of the whole book are directly devoted to his heterodoxy in this regard. (pp. 124–128 and 221–222) Mr. Bestor admits that Owen was an educational reformer as well as an economic experimenter (p. 140). He devotes all of chapter six to the educational theories of New Harmony. The present reviewer feels that a clearer analysis of Owen's views on the uselessness of specific religion and the absence of moral responsibility in mankind would have thrown much light on the failure of the communitarian venture which the Englishman undertook. One item to the point is the withdrawal of the Methodists because of the atheism of the settlement. (p. 176).

However, everything cannot be written in one book. Mr. Bestor shows that despite a yearning for a millenial social community Americans did not have to experiment long in communal ownership to find that it could not work on the natural level. His book deserves a high place in the current literature of culture on the frontier. It is well arranged, with enlightening footnotes on almost every page, a checklist of all communitarian experiments in the United States before 1860, the bibliographical essay already mentioned, and a splendid index.

Publication was made possible by the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of the American Historical Association. If that body succeeds as well in getting results from similar awards, it may well take pride in its accomplishment.

R. N. Hamilton

Marquette University

Notes and Comments

Italy from Napoleon to Mussolini, by Rene Albrecht-Carrie, published by Columbia University Press, 1950, is an instructive study of the growth of Fascism in Italy, with stress on the underlying philosophy of that one of our national peeves. In this respect the study is excellent. The author's development of the heritage left to Europe by the French Revolution is particularly apt, though there will be quarrel on the part of conservatives with the shade of overemphasis placed upon the values to be found in unguided liberalism. Surely, liberalism as apprehended by political elements has been a drawback to national development in France, and, rather than a philosophy working toward the common good in a practical way, it has become more the cry of the vote-getter. The dictator Mussolini, who is given an objective and even sympathetic treatment in the work, seems then a logical evolution of the principles of the French Revolution in the sense of their rabble-rousing possibilities, their chauvinism, their misguided patriotism. This book is worth the careful reading necessary for its comprehension, even though one cannot agree with several of the more liberal interpretations made by the author. It will be very useful as a textbook and as supplementary reading for college students as well as a philosophical appraisal for scholars.

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The Maya Indians were accustomed for 1200 years to record the important events of their Yucatán land in maddening hieroglyphics on strips of fibre paper. Three such pre-Columbian manuscripts survive in Dresden, Paris, and Madrid. After the Spanish conquest the padres got the Maya scribes to write their chronicles in the European script but in the Maya language, and moreover got them to transliterate the old hieroglyphics into the Spanish characters. Copies of the chronicles as thus transliterated were made, with errors usual to that type of work. To organize these copies in columns for study was the contribution of Alfredo Barrera Vásquez and Sylvanus Griswold Morley. The work was published by The Carnegie Institution of Washington as Number 48 of its *Contributions to American Anthropology and History.* Number 49 is "Guide to the Codex Pérez," of the said chronicles, and Number 51 is a special study, "The

Prophecies for the Maya Tuns in the Books of Chilam Balam of Tizimin and Mani," both by Ralph L. Roys. These three *Contributions* together with Number 50: "The Pendleton Ruin, Hidalgo County, New Mexico," by A. V. Kidder and H. S. and C. B. Cosgrove, were published in a volume last year. It represents valuable contributions, and contains numerous maps, charts, tables, diagrams, and illustrations.

The Vasquez-Morley contribution to the long dispute about the history of the ancient peoples of Maya-land is notable. The parallel passages in five of the chronicles are lined up for a comparative study, out of which emerges a reconstructed text. This is translated into English. The pages will be deeply appreciated by scholars, who, if they "do not see eye to eye with me," Morley remarks, will be able to utilize the fruits of this labor and fashion their own interpretations. The sections by Roys indicate painstaking care, though like the other parts, they are marred by the absence of Spanish accents. The study by Kidder and the Cosgroves is indeed refreshingly presented and adds decided value to this excellent Volume X, Publication 585.

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There is now available a convenient survey of the history of the rise and fall of the French empire in Canada. This is *Histoire du Canada Français 1534–1763,* per Claude de Bonnault, Conseiller historique de la Province de Québec, published by Presses Universitaires de France, 108, Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris. It is the first volume of the first series of Colonial Studies being prepared under the direction of Ch.-André Julien. Running along the lines of Schlarman's *Quebec to New Orleans,* this synthesis traces each step of the growth of the French holdings in North America from Cartier to the Treaty of Paris. The drama or story part of the honest Canadian pioneers is interesting, but scarcely critical enough of the demoralizing administrators sent at times by France to direct the destinies of the colonials.

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Them Was the Days, by Martha Ferguson McKeown, published in May of this year by The Macmillan Company, is the second of three books designed to recount the life of Mont Hawthorne. In the first of her trilogy, *The Trail Led North,* Mrs. McKeown had her Uncle Mont tell the story of his life in Oregon, while in the present

work she has him recounting his boyhood from the age of five in 1870 to 1883. The narrative in vivid frontier language covers the departure of Mont with his family from Waterford, Pennsylvania, and the various stages of a thirteen year journey to San Francisco. The outstanding character is by all odds Mama Hawthorne whose philosophy and fortitude in caring for her flock and whose neighborliness throughout the years of the wild west reveal American pioneer motherhood at its best.

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The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century, by Reverend Albert Clement Shannon, O.E.S.A., Ph.D., came from The Augustinian Press, Villanova, Pennsylvania, in 1949. In this work of 148 pages Father Shannon presents us with something of a pattern of the position of the papacy on heresy in "the greatest of centuries," and brings into a coherent unit the various modifications adopted by the popes of the period in their struggle against heretical forces. It is a thorough and fearless study of a very delicate question. There is here no mere rehash of what has already been said, and much has been said of this period. The volume is fully documented; some very new bits of legislation, or at least of directive procedure, are brought to light, and the attitude of the popes in regard to the prosecution of heretics is put into a well defined framework of ecclesiastics and rulers who did not see eye to eye with the Vicar of Christ. A well chosen bibliography and a good index complete the volume.

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Vicente Lecuna has added a notable work to his scholarly publications. This is the *Crónica Razonada de las Guerras de Bolívar,* published this year by The Colonial Press, New York, in three volumes. The detailed account of the campaigns and battles of the Liberator was undertaken because of the deficiencies of previous attempts, which, besides errors, lack of dates and other details, failed in their primary purpose of presenting the full portrait of Bolívar as a military genius. Lecuna appreciates clearly the import of many of the military moves made by Bolívar but passed over by his biographers and earlier military analysts. The work is a fine contribution. It is well printed, bound and illustrated not only with pictures but especially with maps and charts.

Nelson the Sailor, by Captain Russell Grenfell, R.N., is rated by its publisher, The Macmillan Company, as a book of general interest, though it should be classed as a special study written in reserved but dramatic detail of the battle psychology of Nelson. Like the author's earlier *Bismarck Episode* it can be read as a scathing criticism of official bungling in naval warfare. In spite of his quarrels and bickerings and even disobedience, Nelson won great victories. The book may be interpreted to mean that he won at Traflagar more through luck than foresight. Nelson undoubtedly inspired his men to heroic efforts by his personal bravery, while at times he inspired them and his superiors to criticism of his lack of initiative. Grenfall seems to have made an excellent judgment of Nelson and his value to British naval progress, and he presents his account in a fascinating style.

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Lewis Hanke, Director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, received a complement from the Government of Cuba when his book on Las Casas was published in Spanish in La Habana as Volume V of the publications of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País. It is entitled *Bartolomé de Las Casas, Pensador Politico, Historiador, Antrpólogo.* It has a thirty page prologue by Fernando Ortiz. The three articles and conclusion in one hundred and eleven pages are the mature fruit of Dr. Hanke's long interest in the social problems of the early Americas, particularly those which Bishop Las Casas strove so long to solve in the early sixteenth century.

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The Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas has this year published Studies VIII, IX, and X. The first is *The Epic of the Chaco: Marshal Estigarribia's Memoirs of the Chaco War, 1932–1935,* edited and annotated by Pablo Max Ynsfran. This is very satisfactory from a military viewpoint, well edited, indexed, and illustrated. Its purpose was not to show causes of the war nor sources of the supplies to the belligerents, about which the historians have been so curious. The second volume contains thirteen papers grouped under the title *Basic Industries in Texas and Northern Mexico.* The papers are by prominent financeers, industrialists, economists, and engineers. Study X, *The Anatomy of Eleven Towns in Michoacán,* by Dan Stanislawski, is unusual. The author chose his

towns according to varying altitudes, assuming that geographic conditions would have determined their "personality." Geography does not determine the differences between the towns, he concludes. He studied the stores, homes, crafts, administrative offices and the services of each of the town in detail, and gives an interesting account of the way of life in the state of Michoacán with apt drawings and pictures.

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The Catholic University of America, 1903–1909, The Rectorship of Denis J. O'Connell, by Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., was published in June by The Catholic University of America Press. This is the fourth volume of the series on the history of the Washington institution and it brings the story through the first twenty years. Monsignor O'Connell as third rector stabilized the University's program, especially by his internal administrative organization, by his efforts at financing, and by his widening of the undergraduate instructional plan. The author has been frank in his appraisal and his drawn copiously on the private archival materials.

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A centennial history of a pioneer parish in the Archdiocese of Detroit was published last year. This is *St. Mary of Redford 1843–1949* by a group of contributors: Sister M. Rosalita, Rev. Thomas J. Collins, Sister M. Jane Edward, and Rev. Robert Koenig. Each has done well to make the 112 pages in the volume interesting and a contribution to the ever increasing shelf of important local history. The book is well illustrated and is published by St. Mary of Redford Parish, Detroit.

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The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1950, has seventeen interesting and instructive articles on gambling. These are divided into four categories: The Legal Status of Gambling, Various Forms of Gambling, The Gambler, and Gambling in Foreign Countries. The papers of the symposium are timely in view of the widespread political and social implications of the problem, and this first attempt at gathering data for an analysis is a long step toward some solution of the universal problem.

The William and Mary Quarterly for April, 1950, carried "John Adams Flays a Philosophe: Annotations on Condorcet's *Progress* of the Human Mind," a chapter from the book of Zoltán Haraszti, Keeper of Rare Books at the Boston Public Library. Flays is a mild word for Adams' comments on the lucubrations of Condorcet. Striking at the root of Condorcet's philosophy Adams retorts: "there is no such Thing [as natural equality] without a Supposition of a God. There is no right or wrong in the Universe without the Supposition of a moral Government and an intellectual and moral Governor." This and other responses reveal the philosophical and religious thinking of Adams as well as his idea of the philosophers of the French Revolution.

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INDEX

MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXII

INDEXER'S NOTE

Names of the contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed.